

PEACE NEWS

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PUBLIC NOT FOOLED BY A.R.P.

Authorities Worried at Lack of Volunteers

COMPULSION IN BACKGROUND

THE Government's first big recruiting drive for air raid precautions volunteers has been a dismal failure, so a new campaign is just beginning.

Only six weeks ago the Home Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, appealed on the radio for a million volunteers. It had been hoped that half this number would enrol within a month. The figure is, in fact, so low that it has not been published.

So far as London is concerned, only one fifth of the necessary number of volunteers has been forthcoming.

At this rate, the *Daily Telegraph* has revealed, "the minimum personnel required will not be available before the end of this year." From this it appears that "the end of this year" will not be soon enough. Hence the Government's concern.

The local authorities will be the first to feel the effect of the Government's new campaign. Many of them have not yet submitted their ARP plans.

IF PERSUASION FAILS...

Wireless talks, &c., will again be used to awaken more interest in ARP among the public, and the Home Office is believed to be planning (according to the *Daily Express*) public demonstrations in real gas to prove that the standard civilian gas mask is 100 percent safe.

If these methods fail, however, then the question of compulsion will, from the Government's point of view, become urgent. As PEACE NEWS has already reported, forms of compulsion are already being used in some quarters.

A further instance of this has been provided by the Shrub Hill Infirmary, Worcester, where nurses are to undergo a course of six compulsory lectures.

WHY PEOPLE HESITATE

Public reluctance to volunteer for ARP service is due in part to doubts as to the usefulness of the measures.

Evidence continually coming from Spain goes to show the damage that can be caused by high explosive bombs, —although the official precautions schemes in this country concentrate on dealing with gas and incendiary bombs.

A member of the International Brigade just back from Spain told a Manchester meeting last week that bombs dropped during the air raids on Barcelona

were not gas bombs or incendiary bombs; not the kind of thing you could sit at home and wait for with a gas mask on. They were high explosive bombs which tore buildings apart as you might tear paper.

The publicity given to facts such as these worries those trying to assure the



GOOD PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

Poster paraders outside the Hull Peace Centre, which is appropriately situated in Prospect Street

public that gas masks and gas proof rooms provide ample protection.

PEACE POSTERS' "UNFAIR RIVALRY"

Sheffield ARP authorities were so concerned about the success of an exhibition of peace posters at the Central Library, that they asked the organizers to take down a poster which showed the deadly effects of Lewisite gas.

They complained that the exhibition was setting up "unfair rivalry" to the ARP shop which had been opened to encourage recruiting wardens.

The poster showed three drops of the gas, and a caption declared this amount sufficient to kill a man. This, and a neighbouring poster incorporating a photograph of a bomb's effects on a seven-storied house, certainly did tend to ridicule the methods of protection advocated by the ARP authorities.

At a recent ARP meeting in Islington Town Hall, members of the Peace Pledge Union distributed to everybody going in a copy of the PPU Manifesto and *A Message to Every Householder*. PEACE NEWS was also advertised and sold.

PACIFIST'S QUESTIONS IGNORED

Before the meeting, Mr. Will Hayden, local group leader, submitted some questions to the chairman of the borough council's air raid precautions committee. He asked that they be answered at the meeting. He also sent a copy of the PPU statement on ARP for reading to the meeting.

Both the list of questions and the Union's statement were ignored, although time was allowed for questions confined to the actual scheme for the borough.

Considerable press correspondence on ARP has been engaged in for three years by Mr. Hayden.

Besides showing the inadequacy of the present schemes, pacifists are also pointing out that air raid precautions are essentially a part of the preparation of the country for war.

The Church Backs National Unity

BAN ON PACIFIST MINISTER

THE Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier, was invited to speak in Potters Bar Cinema on Good Friday evening. The invitation was withdrawn when it became known that he was a pacifist and could not agree that the Church should "support any national effort that may be necessary for self-defence."

"As I felt that I could not preach the gospel adapted to the British Empire's prestige," wrote the Rev. R. H. Le Messurier afterward, "the invitation has been withdrawn and a bishop has consented to step into the breach!"

A statement to PEACE NEWS on behalf of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship declared:

Although it was suggested that our prayers and work for the peace of the world were hindered by the broken unity of the Church, it does not appear to be considered by those organizing the meeting that there is any hindrance to our prayers and work in the fear, distrust, and war preparation in the world today, and in the lack of faith of so many Christians in failing to give a distinctive Christian lead after the manner of Christ's own example.

THE PEACE ACADEMY

A SUMMER SCHOOL will be held at the CHATEAU DU MONTCEL, Jouy-en-Josas, near Paris, from August 16th-29th, 1938
General Subject: THE SCIENCE OF PEACE.

Speakers: MARIA MONTESSORI, BART de LIGT, ARNOLD GROENVELD, HAR DAYAL, WILFRED WELLOCK, SIMONE WEIL, HAROLD BING.

(Lectures will be given in both English and French.)

Approximate cost: From Six to Eight Shillings a day.

Bathing, tennis, Walking. Accommodation for campers.

Full particulars from the British Secretary, R. H. Ward, 72, Abbey Rd., London, N.W.8

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Arms Workers Can Lead Way to Peace

POWER TO END PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

WITH the progress of the Government's plans to secure a speeding-up of the rearmament programme, it is becoming increasingly clear that the power that lies in the hands of the workers must be used to stop all war preparations if it is to be effective.

Any agreement by the trade unions to give the Government the assistance it wants, if it will promise to pursue a different foreign policy, will simply mean the surrender of the power to secure a policy leading toward real peace.

UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY LOST

That power is clearly recognized. "The value of the worker to the Government is not in his vote but in his hands," declared Mr. H. N. Brailsford in a recent speech. He went on to point out that when the Trade Union Congress was invited to discuss rearmament the movement had a unique opportunity to insist that it would only cooperate on terms.

That chance had been lost, but the engineers had not allowed themselves to be deterred by the bad example of the TUC.

If trade unionists are prepared to "cooperate on terms," however, they will have to give in to the Government's demands. The arguments that will be used against them were stated in this *Daily Express* leading article dealing with the attitude of the engineers:

One of their reasons for hesitating in joining the arms speed-up is the Government's policy on Spain. Now their president...

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dent, Mr. Little, has more to say about it. Apart from the effects of a Franco victory on labour conditions, he argues that if war came you would find Franco on the side of the dictators. It's possible, but not certain, for allies have a way of falling out when the test of war is applied.

However, only a miracle can prevent a Franco victory. So on Mr. Little's own showing he makes the best case possible for the engineers to help defend the country against any possible aggressors that may have Franco on their side.

Only an absolute refusal to assist in the rearmament programme would be an adequate reply to that argument.

WHAT GOVERNMENT WANTS

Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister for the Coordination of Defence, has followed up his talks with representatives of employers and trade unionists with letters calling for quickened production.

These letters, which are marked "Private and confidential," have been sent to the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

It is understood, according to *The Times*, that Sir Thomas adds little to what he has told the employers and unions already. He is believed to be "only more insistent, but not more specific," on the matters under consideration. No limit is set to the actual output. The Government does not demand, for example, reported *The Times*,

so many aeroplanes in such a time, but for the quickening of production, because of the urgency of the circumstances, to the greatest possible degree by measures which the employers and the unions can themselves take.

The Government wants more man-power hours of production "to bring the armaments programme level with the national requirements."

UNIONS AND GUARANTEES

In the meantime nothing further has been done to arrange the proposed conference between employers and unions, nor has the Amalgamated Engineering Union replied to the suggestion of the confederation that all the unions should meet to arrange united action before such a conference is held.

Answering questions in Parliament before the Easter recess, Sir Thomas Inskip declared that

(a) The unions' representatives had been told that any matter they wanted the Government to consider would receive prompt and sympathetic consideration. (This was in answer to a question asking him to see that that rights of the engineering workpeople were not affected by the negotiations); and (b) No guarantee was asked for in connexion with foreign policy or any other matter at the meetings with union leaders.

Representatives of employers and operatives in the building trades last week assured Sir Thomas of their continued desire to assist in carrying out the rearmament programme. A joint committee for this purpose has been in existence for about a year.

Facts about "National Service" Campaign

The recent agitation in certain quarters for the introduction of some form of "National Service," regarding which revelations were made in recent issues of *PEACE NEWS*, forms the subject of a sixteen-page memorandum just published by the National Peace Council.

The memorandum gives details of the campaign itself, as it was waged in the press, in Parliament, &c.

It shows the danger of industrial conscription, and how the "National Service" campaign is linked with the fitness campaign, with the unemployed, and with air raid precautions.

The various proposals that have been put forward are summarized and it is shown that the first step might well be the compilation, at first on a voluntary basis, of a National Register showing what every man and woman would be able and willing to do in wartime.

A very informative section is that which tells of the people behind the "National Service" campaign, showing their connexions with government circles, with industry, and so on.

The memorandum concludes with recommendations for action by interested organizations and individuals. Copies are obtainable at 3d., post free, from the National Peace Council, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

ACTION NEEDED ON VAN ZEELAND REPORT

ONCE again the Government has thrown cold water on the idea of a conference to remove the causes of war, while it has refused to do more than mark time so far as the Van Zeeland Report is concerned.

The occasion for this was during a debate last week in the House of Lords. Lord Marley drew attention to the disabilities of some nations with regard to access to raw materials, and suggested that this was a cause of international tension.

"Has the joint sounding by the British and French Governments with regard to the Van Zeeland Report reached bottom yet?" he asked. What action was contemplated? Lord Marley further suggested turning the Economic Section of the League into a body on similar lines to the International Labour Organization.

Lord Samuel asked these specific questions:

Would the Government follow the suggestion of the League Committee on Raw Materials that governments possessing raw materials should declare their general policy to be not to use their powers of restricting supplies so as to put pressure on any other country?

Would it also support the Commission's recommendation that in any restriction schemes for economic purposes the interests of consuming countries should be safeguarded?

Were they prepared to take action along the lines of the suggestions in the Van Zeeland Report?

GOVERNMENT REPLY

In answer to all these questions and suggestions the Government, through Lord Plymouth, referred to "real difficulties" standing in the way, and said that Britain alone could do nothing that would have far-reaching results.

As to the suggestion that the Government should call a conference, it was perfectly clear that before holding such a conference it was absolutely essential to prepare the ground beforehand very carefully and to be sure that there was some measure of agreement between the nations concerned.

With regard to the question of payment for raw materials, Lord Plymouth said that the appropriate section of the Raw Material Committee's Report was now being examined by two other League committees. The Government thought the chief obstacle was the intention of certain Powers to persist in a programme of self-sufficiency.

VAN ZEELAND REPORT

On the subject of the Van Zeeland Report, Lord Plymouth declared he was not in a position to answer Lord Samuel's questions. It was, he said, only too clear that economic problems of the nature referred to could not be entirely divorced from political ones.

The Government had not given up hope of solving difficulties along the lines of the report, and was

hopeful that the atmosphere might improve very quickly and it might be possible at no distant date once more actively to explore and pursue these difficult questions.

After Lord Plymouth's speech had been described by Lord Snell as "of a most disappointing and melancholy character," the Foreign Secretary himself intervened to protest against the suggestion that the Government was inactive or indifferent. He failed, however, to support his denial with facts.

REMOVING SUSPICION

Nevertheless the demand for a British lead toward world peace is growing.

While *The Times* supports the Government's view declaring that

the root cause of the difficulties in the way of international financial and commercial cooperation is the profound suspicion reigning between the nations,

the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto is urging action that would help to end that suspicion.

The Manifesto is rapidly reaching a very large number of people, due to the efforts of PPU groups in the way of propaganda, such as publishing it in the press, &c. It reminds the country that the Van Zeeland Report has been drawn

A SYMBOLIC PLAY

POWER AND GLORY. Savoy.

THIS new play by Karel Capek fulfils the original conception of the drama, which like all European art was in the first instance an activity for imparting religious and moral ideas to the mass of the people, through a ritual of symbolism.

Power and Glory may be compared to the *Trojan Women* of Euripides. It is imbued with the same note of restrained passion, with the same spirit of irony revealing the ridiculous nature of military glory, and with the same overwhelming pity.

The actors in the play fulfil their parts in a way that is wholly satisfying. Mr. Felix Aylmer gives an admirable performance of the Professor, the head of a national clinic. The *tour de force* is the duplicate part of the Doctor and the Dictator which is taken by Mr. Homolka.

Homolka held me spellbound from the moment he shuffled through the entrance, bowed and shabby and looking more like a down and out than a man already distinguished for medical research. I confess at once that I have never been more moved by any character on the stage.

TWO-FOLD SIGNIFICANCE

As he plays the two principal rôles, so the play itself has a two-fold significance. The characters are intensely human, and at the same time they are part of a symbolism. In fact, the play is a parable.

In this respect it is like the other two plays by Karel Capek that have been produced in London. No creatures like the "robots" in *RUR* are in existence, though they have added a new word to the English language and have excited thoughts so disturbing that they have never been allowed to appear again on the London stage.

The Insect Play was not a play about insects but a satire on civilization.

In the same way, *Power and Glory* cannot be judged wholly by the standard of realism.

As the curtain rises it reveals three wretched victims of a plague that is devastating the country. Its peculiarity is that it attacks only people over the age of forty-five. The medical profession is helpless to deal with it.

But a doctor who works in the slums

has discovered its cause and cure. At his clinics the poor are healed. He will not disclose his secret to the medical profession unless the dictators and statesmen who rule the world's destinies will make a pact of enduring peace.

One after another the great ones in that land come to him with an appeal against their fate. To them all he applies the acid test; one by one they are brought, after much resistance, face to face with reality, and are induced to exchange power and glory for life.

But at the moment of climax, the insignificant and odd-looking little doctor is killed by a mob that has become intoxicated with war slogans and flag waving—not intentionally, but by sheer stupidity. A foolish boy stamps his test tubes into the dust. The secret perishes with the genius that discovered it.

ALIVE WITH TRUTH

I have read criticisms of this play which maintain that because the doctor is not put into a concentration camp and tortured until his will is broken and his secret revealed, and also because when in the end he is sent for by the dictator he comes not in an automobile but on foot; there are improbabilities in the plot which destroy its dramatic effect.

But such criticism is beside the point. The whole story is improbable when one is released from its grip and regards it from the point of view of realism. It is alive with truth. Though it is exciting drama, its main influence is to start up a drama within the mind of the spectator. It impels the imagination to awake out of its slumber for an hour or two if not for longer.

If masses of people in every country could see and understand *Power and Glory*, there would be a change in the history of Europe. Let a few people see and understand it, and they will "be changed."

I have no hesitation in saying that every member of the Peace Pledge Union, rich or poor, should "move heaven and earth" to see this play for themselves. It is an imaginative revelation of the real issues that are set at stake at this critical moment in human evolution.

EMMELINE PETHICK-LAWRENCE.

Sauce for the Goose . . .

The Prime Minister was asked by Mr. Vyvyan Adams last week, whether he was aware that the proposed recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, consequent upon Italy's unprovoked aggression, "could not be reconciled with Article 10 of the Covenant of the League or with the terms of the Briand-Kellogg Pact of Paris," and also what action he proposed in the matter.

In reply Mr. Butler refused to accept the position as stated in the first part of the question.

Article 10, dealing with guarantees against aggression, states:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

. . . but not for the Gander

Mr. Adams then asked why the Government had agreed to "a resolution against the recognition of the Japanese conquest of Manchuria?"

The League Assembly passed a resolution on March 11, 1932, stating that

it is incumbent upon the members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris.

up by a statesman appointed by the Governments of Britain and France to consider the economic and political causes of friction in the world. M. van Zeeland's conclusions should be investigated at once. They may be modified. He provided for that.

For this reason Embassies of Reconciliation is holding a meeting on "Peace through Economic Reconstruction," with special reference to the Van Zeeland Report, in Friends House, London, on Friday week. Mr. Lansbury will be in the chair and the speakers will be Dr. L. P. Jacks, Lord Ponsonby, Canon Stuart Morris, Dr. Alex Wood, and the Rev. Henry Carter.

Tickets for reserved seats may be obtained, price 1s. each, on application to the Secretary, Embassies of Reconciliation, 16, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1, enclosing stamped addressed envelope.

Among other moves to awaken people to the need for a constructive policy is a statement on "Peace and the Democracies," issued by the National Peace Council. This statement declares:

Opinions may differ as to the practicability or desirability of attempting to negotiate at this stage a comprehensive settlement embracing all the major Powers, but it appears indisputable that the League countries, together with the USA, could and should strengthen the peaceful influences in the world, reinforce the democratic system, and improve the moral basis of their own position by a non-menacing policy of economic, humanitarian and cultural cooperation amongst themselves. Such action would not close the door to the subsequent adherence of other States, provided they accepted the obligations of peaceful cooperation.

In advocating steps based on this policy, the council makes it clear that some of its constituent societies believe it indispensable that the action suggested should be coupled with the collective organization of resistance to aggression. The council as a whole makes no pronouncement on that issue.

Austria**GERMAN INVASION COULD HAVE BEEN AVOIDED***Other Nations' Responsibility***SOCIALISTS WON OVER TO SUPPORT OF HITLER**

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

A PACIFIST who was visiting social democrat friends in Vienna at the time of Hitler's entry, and has since returned to England, had some interesting comments on the situation from the social democrat point of view.

"The Vienna Socialists," he told me, "are a very educated lot.

"I have never come across a party that had a stronger hold on the people in it. Many of them will not drink or smoke in order to be better party members.

"Before 1934 the social democrats were all in favour of union with Germany. They say still that, if the union had been allowed by the former Allies, Hitler would never have come into power.

"But this year's Anschluss is a very different thing. On the day before the Nazi march there were jubilant speeches, from socialists, ending up with the singing of the Internationale. Anyone would have thought they were going to have a socialist government the next day.

SUPPORTED THE PLEBISCITE

"They didn't particularly like the form of the plebiscite, but they were supporting it, though one bundle of leaflets I saw told people to change 'Free Christian German Austria' into 'Free Democratic Austria.'

"After the march they maintained that if Schuschnigg had started his overtures to the socialists a few months earlier Hitler would not have come in. It is difficult to see just what difference it would have made, but they seemed to think they could have held out long enough for the international situation to change.

"I doubt if there will be much underground socialist activity in Vienna for the next few months.

"Most of the people I spoke to thought it would be useless until they could see how things were going.

SOCIALISTS OFFERED OLD JOBS

"Immediately after the march they were very busy getting rid of their political books.

"People working in factories and big offices had swastikas given them on the first day. Other people got them later. I went about without one the whole time I was there, but no-one said anything to me.

"Soon after they arrived, the Nazis started trying to win over socialists by offering many of them back the jobs they had lost in 1934.

"I spoke to one man who had been a prominent social democrat. He had got back his job and had taken the oath to Hitler.

"He said it would be silly to refuse, now that Austria was part of Germany. I heard of no-one refusing to take the oath."

U.S.A.**PLAN FOR A NEW LEAGUE**
All-Inclusive and Non-Military

A PROPOSAL for a Federation of Nations which would be all-inclusive, democratic, and non-military, is being put forward in the United States. The Federation would replace the present League.

The scheme has been outlined in a letter to members of both Houses of the US Congress, and a Bill has been drafted which provides for American action—

To call a world convention at which a previously-drafted constitution could be discussed; and

To invite world-minded economic experts to prepare and propose plans to facilitate the more equal distribution of basic raw materials.

One section of the Bill bars any member or departmental head of the military or naval forces or of any national government from taking part in the proceedings of the World Constitutional Convention.

Upon the constitution of the proposed Federation being ratified, the "world-wide military machine" would be dissolved and its man power released for constructive work.

The campaign in support of the proposal has been carried into the press, and letters have appeared in the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald-Tribune*. A pamphlet setting out the scheme has been published by Mrs. Lola M. Lloyd, of 30, West 70th Street, New York City, under the title, *Chaos, War, or a New World Order?*

WOMEN'S WORK FOR PEACE

The annual meeting of the United States Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will be held in Minneapolis from Friday next to the following Monday. This year its general subject is "Techniques for Peace—Domestic and International."

One session will be devoted to the international work of the WIL, during which a report will be given of the activities of the international office at Geneva.

Among the speakers will be the secretary of the Senate Munitions Investigation Committee.

GIVE UP THEIR SUMMER

The training of peace volunteers at centres in various parts of the United States is being undertaken again this summer by the Student Peace Service of the American Friends' Service Committee.

After their training the students live and work with ordinary men and women throughout the country, helping to educate public opinion on peace issues.

During the past two years 385 young people have given up their summers to this work.

Canada**Peace Workers' Reply to Arms Challenge**

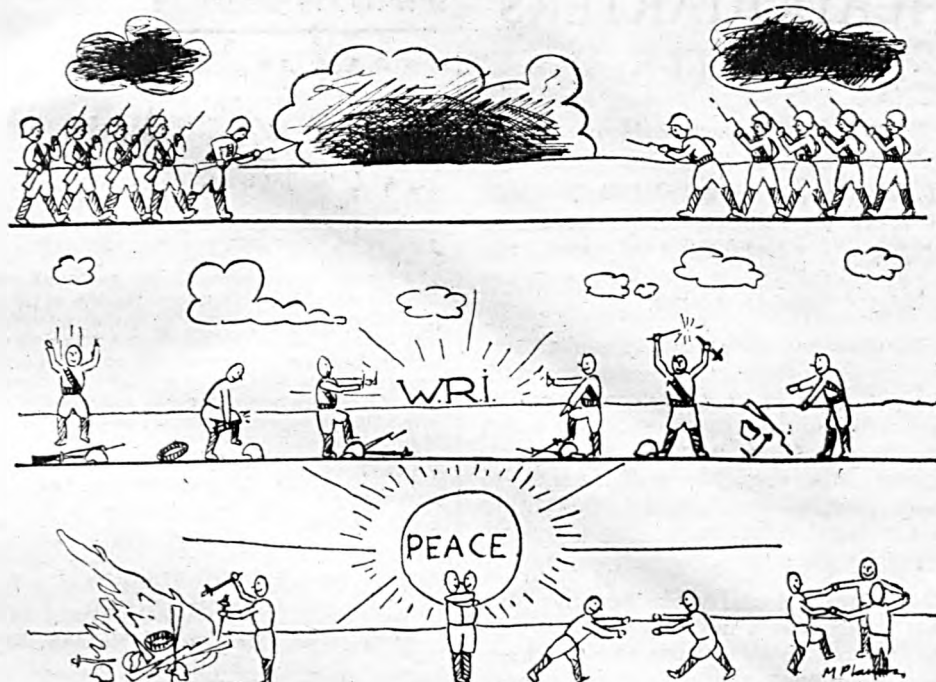
Militarization is now the order of the day in Canada just as it is in Britain. Mr. Ian MacKenzie, the Minister of National Defence, recently defined the dominion's policy as "no policy of aggression, but a policy of national security and protection of our neutrality."

A small group of progressive people have, however, been suspicious about the Government's activities. Their fears were confirmed when the Defence Minister outlined new fortifications now under way, and declared that gas masks

and aircraft have already been made. Capacity for munitions production has been increased.

The peace forces are meeting this challenge and progress is being made toward the organization of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the Dominion.

Letters from people all over the country are reaching the chairman of a committee undertaking this task, revealing an interest in the organization, and testifying to the need for a Canadian FOR.



THIS is another of the drawings by Miguel Planas, the thirteen-year-old Spanish boy now in the home for child refugees run by the War Resisters' International at Prats-de-Mollo, in the South of France. Miguel has written a message to the children of the world which, together with other drawings by him, is contained in a pamphlet entitled "Our Work in Spain," obtainable from the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Czechoslovakia**Interests Behind Alliance**
With France and Russia

From Our Own Correspondent

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has an agreement with France and the USSR. These two countries are not helping Czechoslovakia out of humanitarian reasons but because of their interest: the Soviet Union because of the Ukraine, and France because of her own country.

In these terms Dr. Karel Hujer, Czech astronomer, exploded the myth that the European democracies stand together because of a disinterested regard for the peace of the world. Dr. Hujer was addressing a branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in San Diego, California (USA).

He described Czechoslovakia as an oasis of democracy, but added: "How long it will remain so it is impossible to say.

"It will not, however, be so easy for Hitler or any other dictator to 'take' Czechoslovakia as it was to take Austria.

"Look on your map and you will see that the Czech-German border is one range of mountains after another. Moreover, there is the spirit of the Czech people, who are free for the first time in 300 years."

"WE CREATED DICTATORS"

Turning to European affairs generally, Dr. Karel Hujer pointed out that "we ourselves created the dictators. We must do penance for this.

"As an astronomer, I take the long

view. The power of dictators soon fades but the words of Christ remain forever in our hearts — 'Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you' When will we begin to live them?"

"We are passing through a trying time. Perhaps we must suffer even more, since it is only through suffering and compassion that we learn that mankind is one family. But we will come out of it."

Switzerland**BRITISH VISITORS TO LABOUR CONFERENCE**

A visit to Geneva for the International Labour Conference is included in an expedition organized by the League of Nations Union. The party will leave London on June 11.

Particulars of this, and other trips, can be obtained from the LNU, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1.

Norway**8 SHIPS SAVE 9 MEN**

Two out of eight volunteers from a rescue ship which launched a boat were drowned in an attempt to save survivors on a steamer wrecked outside Christian-sund, Norway, during a recent hurricane.

The rescue ship was assisted by seven fishing boats. Between them they eventually rescued nine men, one of whom died later.

SCHOOLS

BELONGING TO THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (QUAKERS) IN GREAT BRITAIN

(with numbers, age-ranges, and non-Friend Fees).

BOYS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS.

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	199: 9-18: £110
Bootham School, York	144: 12-19: £165
Leighton Park School, Reading	150: 12-19: £189

GIRLS' SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS.

Ackworth School, nr. Pontefract	172: 9-18: £110
The Mount School, York	118: 13-19: £153

CO-EDUCATIONAL SECONDARY BOARDING SCHOOLS.

Friends' School, Gt. Ayton, Yorks.	160: 9-17: £81
Friends' School, Saffron Walden, Essex	208: 10-18: £99
.. .. (Junior)	30: 7-10: £99
Sidcot School, Winscombe, Somerset	160: 10-18: £123
Friends' School, Wigton, Cumb.	110: 7-17: £82 1s.

CO-EDUCATIONAL "MODERN" BOARDING SCHOOL.

Friends' School, Sibford, nr. Banbury	158: 10-17: £81
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Apply to SCHOOL, or to SECRETARY, Friends Education Council,
40, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

HEADQUARTERS' NOTES

By Roy Walker

SOME day it may be possible to speak about pacifism without referring to gas-masks, bombing-planes and the whole paraphernalia of modern warfare --but the time is not yet.

Discussions about pacifism nearly always arise from its relationship with the problems of war, and explanation and criticism are usually stated in terms of war situations: pacifism wants unilateral disarmament; critic wants to know why he hasn't stopped the fighting in China yet. And so on.

All sorts of misconceptions occur in this way, particularly the peculiar idea that pacifism is a negative doctrine and that the pacifists's attitude to everything is a recumbent attitude—a willingness to allow himself to be trodden on.

The mistake is almost inevitable. Few of us would have been concerned to look into the possibilities of the pacifist way of life if the whole problem of competitive living had not been dramatized in the nightmarish form of modern war, or if that importunate spectre had not so insistently invaded our consciousness.

Recollection of this would do much to curb our impatience with those who have not yet recognized the nature of the challenge issued by modern war. Pacifism may be the right and natural pattern of life, but to the contemporary European it is not the immediately obvious design for living.

* * *

So the shadow of negativism follows us about and it seems at first that the criticism is aided and abetted by the terminology of the subject, as if there were a linguistic conspiracy to promote this idea that pacifism is less positive than the unbearable loss to all classes and communities, the indiscriminate destruction of life and property inseparable from modern war.

Non-violent resistance only indicates what the pacifists will not do. It is a negative form. And opponents, often unintentionally, dilate enthusiastically on the apparent implications of the phrase. Non-resistance fares even worse.

The positive terms are almost all words that have lost their status, words that have become profoundly suspect. Love is the best example. Commonly, it denotes anything from affection to lust and even in its specifically religious sense it has become a trifle mawkish.

A confusion of these two senses causes people to look down shamefacedly as though they had heard something a little indecent, if the word is mentioned at a public meeting.

Conciliation escapes the first kind of distortion because it is not a word in common use, but it appears with awful regularity in the euphemistic utterances of the politically-minded, and has come to mean the policy of distributing small gratuities to dispossessed countries and peoples if only they will beg with suitable humility. Of taking the initiative, of rendering good for evil, of loving enemies, there is no hint.

* * *

These terminological difficulties are almost universal. Gandhi could find no appropriate terms in Indian and eventually the word *satyagraha* was coined, meaning, literally, soul-force. The term is illuminating for the converted but it is not for public use.

Perhaps this deficiency is now due to poverty of language. Perhaps it is another aspect of the truth contained in Dick Sheppard's definition of religion, "It is not an intellectual orthodoxy, it is an adventure in a certain way of living." The only way to demonstrate a way of living is to live it—as Dick did.

We are led to the conclusion that propaganda for pacifism is not just a matter of leaflets and speeches (any political organization can do as much as that), but the more complex and infinitely more interesting problem of discovering the way to a higher plane of behaviour and of personal relationships.

P.P.U. members on

May Day Procession

If the PPU is not officially to take part in the May Day Procession to Hyde Park, we feel that there may be some groups who like ourselves would like to see pacifist forces represented there. It is surely all to the good that some of us should give witness to those ties which join us to our comrades of the left.

Perhaps those who decide to come could meet early, say at midday outside 96 Regent Street, and join the procession at a convenient place. Large cloth banners denoting each group and poster-boards on poles would be indispensable features. It might be convenient if group leaders got into touch with us at the address below so that we would know how many to expect.

P. LAMARTINE-YATES,
ARNOLD KNEBEL
(Honorary Secretary).
E. J. CHANDLER,
ARTHUR OXFORD.

62, Wickham Chase, West Wickham, Kent.

THE NOTICE BOARD

Glasgow.—Wanted, urgently, enthusiastic member to organize street-selling of PEACE NEWS. Also names of volunteers to go on a rota of sellers for minimizing the amount of labour per volunteer—also poster-paraders. —Write, Henry A. Barter, 181 Pitt Street, Glasgow, C.2

Loud-speaker Car will tour all towns and villages of Devon during April and May, with Dick Sheppard's record and literature. Will all members please make themselves known to the area organizer, Mr. E. C. Maddax, who will be travelling with the car.

Contributions toward Lambeth Library's copies of PEACE NEWS would be greatly appreciated from any group in this Borough. Send to R. A. Hembry, 124 St. Louis Road, S.E.27.

Two Basque children at Basque House are still unadopted. Would anyone like to adopt one?

Birmingham wants more P.N. sellers each Friday, one hour or more between 4.30 and 9.30 p.m. Write Wilfred S. Burr, 3 Innage Road, Northfield, Birmingham.

Parents of young student from Paris desire to offer exchange hospitality to an English boy or girl of same age (thirteen or fourteen) in July and August. Visit to England desired to perfect knowledge of language. French family can be highly recommended.—Communicate with War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

Volunteers are wanted to sell PEACE NEWS in Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

West Norwood group will meet on the second and fourth Tuesdays of the month in Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall—adjacent to West Norwood tram terminus.

Kettering group now meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. in the Toller Lecture Room, Meeting Lane, Kettering.

All welcome at prayers for peace at All Saints, Blackheath, S.E.3, 7.30 p.m., every Monday. Once a fortnight prayers are followed by a conference.

PPU meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., in Beacon Café, Hanworth Road, Hounslow (near Congregational Church).

Bristol wants more PEACE NEWS sellers each Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m.—Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Hackney Group volunteers for anti-ARP poster parade, April 23, meet at Metropolitan Hospital, Kingsland Road, 3.15 p.m.

STANZAS

Put on, frail ghosts, more tangible gown;
Compass me round and comfort me.
My soul is utterly cast down,
For I have killed my enemy.

I would that he were whole again.
Wounds would I take without a moan,
For as I flung him to the slain
—Herbert E. Palmer: *Collected Poems* (publishers, Messrs. Ernest Benn).
I knew his spirit for mine own.

HORSE SENSE

"The Horse Who Couldn't See Why," a fable with a pacifist implication by R. C. Cole, which appeared in the *Daily Herald* last December, is now available in leaflet form from the Northern Friends' Peace Board, Spring Bank, Rawdon, near Leeds, and Friends' Peace Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, price 4d. per dozen and 2s. per 100.

"To drop bombs that shatter and burn and choke and poison and dismember defenceless people. These, one feels, are the purposes of idiots or devils."—Professor C. E. M. Joad, in *The Dictator Resigns*.

GROUP NOTES

By John Barclay

ON April 11, a letter appeared in *The Times* criticizing our pamphlet, *A message to every householder*. The author, a gentleman living in Brighton, was really disturbed by what it said, as well as by the fact that it had been put through his door "under cover of darkness."

The pamphlet itself has been very widely distributed all over the country, and very often after dark, as most of our people work at getting their bread and butter during the day. The immediate reactions to this letter were that it brought a large number of orders for more pamphlets, and a still larger publicity for our cause.

Newspapers have rung us up asking for information, reporters have called at the office, and offers of help have come from friends previously unknown to us. All because a certain gentleman disliked the truth and protested to *The Times*. "The moral of that is," let us have more truth!

The Manifesto campaign is making good headway. Already we have sent out 150,000 copies and another 75,000 are on their way as I write. Many groups have had a résumé accepted. It should local paper in its entirety, and others have had a resume accepted. It should make a magnificent jumping-off ground for open-air meetings, and discussion arising from it will cover the whole of the constructive programme of the Peace Pledge Union.

The public is rapidly coming round to the belief that air raid precautions are no insurance against war risks, and in spite of an unparalleled press for popularizing them, it is becoming increasingly difficult to get recruits. As we know, nothing short of complete abolition of the war method is of any use, and it is our job and privilege to explain this to a fear-ridden population.

During the next few weeks I shall be planning a fresh campaign including, I hope, the "March of the Manifesto." Now that summer time has come round again, the extra hour has been added to our all too short day. The fine weather has meant an early start to open air meetings, and last week saw lots of our people "on the tub." Long after the meetings are over, groups stand round talking and opportunities are offered for real individual discussion.

One Saturday night recently I spoke at a meeting organized by the Uxbridge group, held at the War Memorial outside the gates of the RAF depot. Before the meeting began, a poster parade of fifteen went twice through the town, and by its very orderly and careful spacing of boards attracted a great deal of attention. The meeting itself lasted from 8 p.m. till 10 p.m., and held a considerable crowd of non-pacifists. From time to time RAF men formed part of the audience and listened intelligently to all we said.

It is a truism to say nobody wants war (least of all the Air Force itself), but I am firmly of the opinion that "not wanting it" is becoming an obsession throughout the country. This resistance to an evil thing becomes a positive step forward as soon as the individual resister realizes his power and asserts that so far as he is concerned he will have nothing to do with it.

Let us therefore appeal to all those who are with us in principle to join on so that we may rapidly become a force of public opinion which by its power as well as by its numbers is invincible.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

New Signatures to the
Peace Pledge—

Will Group Leaders receiving
these please check that they are
LEGIBLE and COMPLETE
before passing them on to
Headquarters?

University News

Students' Challenge on Peace Issue

SO far there is no organized pacifist group within the **London School of Economics** mainly because pacifists there are already attached to outside groups. Also, amid the ceaseless welter of political activity there is a choice of two possibilities: either pacifists must join in, that is, they must attend every meeting, discussion, or study group and bring forward the pacifist issue wherever the opportunity presents itself; or, they must stay out, that is, they must form themselves into a special group to study the theory and technique of pacifism.

Both cannot be done at the same time at this college, which, it will be remembered, is unique in its interest in social and political events.

At the moment the pacifists are engaged in raising the issue wherever possible and in holding debates with other union societies. PEACE NEWS is sold each week, and they have the support of the India Society, one of the largest in the college.

Next term they will probably adopt some formal organization, as by doing so they will be enabled to convene meetings on their own account according to union regulations.

It is of interest to note that in this stronghold of the collective security faith, the college society of the League of Nations Union was dissolved last term owing to lack of support. This may be a favourable omen.

CONFLICT BETWEEN IDEAS

The Oxford University Pacifist Association was founded in October, 1936, in Christ Church by five members of the Peace Pledge Union. It is secular and loosely organized. Anyone interested in pacifism may join on payment of a terminal subscription of 2s.

From the first there was a marked conflict between two ideas.

The first, that the Association should be a small society whose attention should be concentrated on the study of the causes of war, and the training of small groups in the theory of non-violence. The second, that it should be essentially a political society, holding big public meetings, voicing pacifism in all possible conferences and councils, crying aloud from the roof-tops, "Pacifism is practical."

In the past year this Barclayan conception has prevailed. The OUPA has met with increasing success. It has now 217 members, and it is a serious factor in university politics.

The OUPA usually has one of the best "fixture cards" in Oxford. Last term it billed, among others, Bertrand Russell, Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, Middleton Murry, and George Robey, and arranged joint meetings or debates with the Liberals, the LNU, and the Christian Pacifist Party.

BETTER WITHOUT A PLEDGE?

In spite of friendly exhortations from John Barclay, the OUPA has not become a PPU group. Members believe that a university group can work better without exacting a pledge.

But they are always in close touch with PPU headquarters, and although the university proctors only allow one joint meeting with the town PPU group each term, last term they made it a Town Hall meeting at which George Lansbury spoke and 1,300 people were present.

Last term an FoR group was formed within the OUPA, and it achieved immediate success, largely due to the enthusiasm of the president, Dr. C. J. Cadoux.

The FoR holds regular study groups and occasional discussion lunches.

HOME COUNTIES

ABOUT five weeks ago Roy Walker addressed a meeting of local signatories in the Hounslow district, and inspired the re-formation of the PPU group. The difficulty of finding a suitable meeting place was solved by the hiring of the Beacon Café for the nominal sum of 5s. per evening, which is obtained by taking a collection.

Here, every Wednesday evening, about 25 members meet to discuss everyday affairs in the light of pacifism. At the moment the group is considering its attitude toward ARP, and how to bring the recently issued Manifesto to the notice of the public. For this purpose it is hoped to intensify the open-air campaign which has already been started.

From Romford and Hornchurch comes news of more linking-up of groups on the regional scale. At a meeting to discuss this, representatives came from as far away as Southend and Shoeburyness. Romford and Hornchurch has had publicity in two local newspapers for its views on ARP—together with the usual comment!

The group has also produced a pacifist play, *Wastage*, written by a member in Harold Wood. Members recently supported a meeting held by Upminster group, at which Roy Walker spoke.

The work of the West Kent region is still consolidation, steady progress being made in this direction. Each group is playing its part and the region attempts to coordinate without oppression. A bulletin is the method adopted, and appears very suitable.

Gravesend group stands out for a recent fine meeting addressed by Stuart Morris. Various groups in the region have shown the film *Kameradschaft*.

Bexleyheath reports steady progress. Among recent activities were a debate with the LNU, a film show, and press correspondence regarding ARP. This group is holding a garden party at Cray

House, Bexley (near the Old Mill), on May 28, which Doris Langley-Moore, the novelist, will open at 3 p.m.

MIDLANDS

The number of reports from the Midlands area shows that groups are out to make themselves a force in the land.

Little Bromwich is to debate the pacifist attitude with the local Labour Party on Tuesday, and is planning a number of poster parades for next week.

Chesterfield has been considering how to overcome a certain amount of apathy among the public, while from Pontefract, where a group was formed only in January, there is news of successful group meetings and an increase in membership—besides several "possibles." This group presented *Twentieth Century Lullaby* at the Pontefract Dramatic Festival, and gained third place. The work put into the production was felt to have been fully justified by the way in which the atmosphere "got over" to the audience.

A debate with the Clarion Cyclists Club was among recent activities at Rotherham. Although no vote was taken, it was looked upon as time well spent. Every week members of this group are taking it in turns to sell 24 PEACE NEWS, going from house to house.

The Midlands area is holding a combined area committee meeting and weekend school at "The Briars" Guest House, Crich, near Matlock, next weekend. Guests will be Dr. E. Leighton Yates, of Cambridge, and Roy Walker.

At a recent South Yorkshire and North-East Derbyshire regional council meeting at Rotherham, it was reported that there were eleven groups in the area (counting Sheffield as one), and about half a dozen useful contacts through whom it was hoped to establish further groups.

News from the Four Corners

Future activities were to include joint rambles between groups in the area, and a weekend school (on May 21-22) at High Flatts Adult School Guest House, near Penistone. A bulletin for contact between groups and for the use of unattached members was also expected to be produced before long.

NORTH

West Yorkshire Federation of thirty groups held their quarterly meeting recently, and delegates' reports revealed an increasing volume of activity in the groups: public meetings; house-to-house and street selling of PEACE NEWS; study groups; debates with other organizations; production of peace plays; regular leaflet distributions; press correspondence; resolutions on the Van Zeeland Report, and personal letters to MPs, the Prime Minister, and the press; correspondence with war resisters in prison and others abroad; letters to ministers of religion asking their opinion on Alex. Wood's pamphlet on rearmament; copies of Lord Arnold's speech on ARP to local Councillors; approaches to public libraries to take PEACE NEWS, and so on.

All accommodation for both boarders and day visitors to a Weekend School at the end of May is already booked up. Open air meetings are to be held in Otley Market Place—the "Clapham Junction" for hikers and cyclists of the region—on consecutive Sunday evenings throughout June and July, groups in the federation supplying speakers and literature, &c., in rota.

NORTH-EAST

On June 19 Canon Stuart Morris and James H. Hudson will speak at an open air meeting on the Newcastle Town Moor. This meeting will inaugurate an intensive PPU campaign which will be

carried on at the Town Moor Festival during race week, June 19 to 25. There will be a peace van, literature stall, and other activities. Volunteers are required for poster parades to advertise the meeting, and for selling PEACE NEWS, distributing leaflets, and other work on the Moor during race week. Any willing to help with this campaign should send their names to Thomas W. Large, 13, Mundella Terrace, Newcastle, 6, or to Thomas James, 74, Gill Street, Newcastle, 4.

SOUTH-EAST

Two members of Tonbridge group recently "picketed" an air raid precautions demonstration and a gas-proofed room in Tonbridge. A copy of Lord Arnold's speech on the futility of air raid precautions was taken by the officer in charge, who was most tolerant and kindly. He took exception, however, to the statement that three drops of "vesicant dew" could kill a man. "Why," he said, "you could bath in the stuff." The officer said that our armaments and ARP had quietened things considerably all over the world, and that ARP were merely precautionary—like the fire brigade.

SOUTH-WEST

Members in the Devon area have been intensely active, and there is still a large programme of future activities before them. During the month, poster parades have been held at Dawlish (April 7) and Torquay (April 9), while a very fine meeting was also held at Dawlish (April 7) at which the audience of 200 was reckoned to be 85 percent sympathetic. With the exception of May 1, arrangements have been made for some form of activity in various towns every day from April 28 to May 7. Spare time is spent going round with a car and speaker, and in the distribution of literature.

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

96, REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1

"THINGS WE WANT YOU TO KNOW"

APRIL 23, 1938

MAY WE ADVISE YOU?

When selecting Leaflets for distribution to avoid allowing your choice to be governed entirely by the consideration that a particular leaflet is such as would have appealed to you. Some pamphlet which you esteem not at all is nevertheless just the right thing for "somebody," who may be quite unimpressed by that, of which you, quite properly, approve.

A TOUCH OF HUMOUR

from a

PACIFIST

May lead some folk to revise their IDEAS OF PACIFISTS and dispose them to further consider the IDEAS OF PACIFISTS

For instance:—

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DISTRIBUTION

Please consider carefully the quantity you are prepared to distribute, as these leaflets are not returnable.

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES?

The "Victorious" Powers' Attempts to Prevent the Rise of Germany After the War—and the Results

Terms of Versailles Treaty	German Republic		Supremacy of Hitler
	1919—1924	1924—1933	
Reduction of Territory and Population 13% in Europe. All colonies lost. Rivers Rhine, Danube and Elbe controlled.			1936. Decontrol of rivers announced. 1938. Austria made province of Germany, which thus becomes bigger than in 1914.
Reduction of Mineral Resources 74.5 percent iron ore surrendered. 68.5 " zinc foundries. 26.6 " blast furnaces. 19.2 " raw iron and steel. 19 " coke. 15.8 " rolling mills.	1921. Upper Silesian plebiscite votes almost whole coal mine area to Germany; France objects; and Germany loses half Saar Basin, retained under French mandate though it had been German for 1,000 years.	1929-33. Rapid increase of unemployment.	1935. Saar Plebiscite; area returned to Germany. 1936. Intervention in Spain: "We want raw materials."—Hitler; Spanish mines fall largely into rebel hands.
Reduction of Capital Equipment All merchant vessels over 1,600 tons displacement surrendered. 5,000 locomotives surrendered. 40,000 waggons surrendered.	Reparations collected from German railways.	1929. "Bremen" and "Europa" win Blue Riband of Atlantic for Germany.	
Reduction of Army Limited to 100,000 men; no conscription; Allies promise similar reduction in this and other arms of their own forces.	Period of warring private armies. Kapp Putsch, &c.	1932. Disarmament conference to discuss Treaty promise—a failure.	1935. British increase of armaments announced; in reply Hitler announces army of 550,000 and conscription.
Reduction of Navy Fleet surrendered (many ships scuttled by humiliated German crews); no submarines.			1935. Anglo-German Naval Treaty allows Germany 35 percent of British strength in all arms except submarines, which could be unlimited.
Reduction of Air Force No military power-driven aircraft allowed.	Ex-air force officers make important progress with gliders.	Commercial air supremacy of Germany.	1933 on. Secret rearmament. 1935. Great air force announced.
Reparations Not fixed by Treaty, but Germany to be charged with all damage done to individual private property in Allied countries; each year for ten years Germany to export 40,000,000 tons of coal to Allies, leaving 78,000,000 tons for own use, compared with pre-war 139,000,000 tons.	1921. Reparations Commission fixes sum at £6,600,000,000 payable in 66 annual instalments of £100,000,000; Germany asks for delay; France occupies Ruhr; German currency collapses (inflation period).	1924. Ruhr evacuated. 1924. Dawes Plan for reparations, annual instalments beginning at £50,000,000 rising to £125,000,000. 1929. Dawes Plan breaks down. Young Plan substituted. 1931. Great Slump; no more reparations.	Self-sufficiency becomes aim of Nazi policy; technically possible through research done in "rationalizing" industries ruined by Versailles Treaty's "Mineral" clauses.
Occupation of Rhineland Fifteen years, to be reduced by stages; 50-mile demilitarized zone established on German side.	Occupation extended by French, during German civil troubles.	1929. Rhineland occupation ended.	March, 1936. Locarno Pact denounced by Hitler; military reoccupation of Rhineland zone begun.
League of Nations Covenant provides for Council of great Powers and Assembly of national representatives; Germany excluded from both.	1921. League overrules result of Upper Silesian plebiscite and divides country in half between Germany and Poland.	1926. Locarno Treaties: German-French boundary guaranteed by Gt. Britain. Germany admitted to Council of League. 1928. Germany signs Kellogg Pact. 1931. Court pronounces (by majority of one) German-Austrian customs union (Anschluss) contrary to Versailles Treaty.	1933. Germany withdraws from Disarmament Conference and later from League of Nations—Hitler says, "never to return."
International Court of Justice at the Hague for legal disputes			1938. Anschluss effected by force.
Danzig Established as a "free" city, but is within Polish customs frontier; Poland given control of river and railway system and power to conduct the city's foreign relations.			1937. Danzig comes under Nazi government; indistinguishable from a German city.

Chart prepared by STEPHEN D. USHERWOOD

ACHIEVEMENTS OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

IN 1909 the first communal settlement was founded in the Jordan valley. Today there are more than 120, and twenty new settlements have grown up during the past eighteen months alone.

It is interesting to notice that these communities, planned primarily as a refuge from anti-semitism and as a spiritual home for world Jewry, have based their life on those ideals of social justice and healthy economy which must serve as a prototype for practical community the world over. In these settlements there are no privately owned properties, no money, and no social castes. Women share an equal status with men.

PATTERN OF REAL DEMOCRACY

Administration is fully democratic. The general assembly elects an executive committee and a secretary for one or, at most, two years. Subcommittees are also elected to deal with such aspects of community life as cultivation, personal relations, health, education, sports, and entertainments. The economic basis of the communi-

A pleasant green oasis of vineyards and fields at the foot of arid mountains; a group of large communal buildings in concrete, and a scatter of small white dwelling houses, vivid in the sun. Such is the picture of a typical communal settlement in Palestine, as described in the following extracts from a lecture given in Kingsley Hall, Bow, recently

By Maurice Pearlman

ties is mixed farming—the cultivation of oranges, olives, lemons, vines, bananas, dates, and wheat, dairy farming, and the rearing of flocks and herds.

Produce is distributed through a co-operative trading organization, and the financial surplus may be devoted to building more houses, to raising the general standard of living, or to absorbing more members. It is significant that it is generally used in absorbing more members.

INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

The membership itself is virtually international in character. It includes English, Americans, Europeans from nearly all countries, and Asiatics from China and India.

Work is organized by works committees, who post a weekly roster of duties in the communal dining-hall. In principle, members may do all jobs in rotation; but experience has proved the wisdom of a certain degree of specialization.

All communities have a library and much reading is done. Study circles are popular and are guided by specialists. Lectures—often well up to post-graduate standard in England—are given by authorities in their own subject, and discussions are of a high order.

As a corollary to education, there is much leisure devoted to games, folk-dancing, gymnastics, orchestral music, and choir singing, and to general entertainment including theatre and cinema.

COMMUNITY FROM THE CRADLE

The education of the young folk is planned to fit children for useful citizenship.

It is found that children develop best in a community of youth, and it is recognized frankly that every mother is not necessarily most naturally fitted for the upbringing of her children. But the crèche system does not mean the break-up of the family spirit.

From the age of seven every child shares some small duty—laying table or picking flowers—for a quarter of an hour a day. As they grow up, children take a progressively larger share in the work of the group.

The manifest good faith and useful work of the communities have achieved neighbourly relations with the nearby villages, though this has not saved them from attack by roving bands from the hills.

Insularity is avoided by interchanges of residents from different communities and by individual holidays in the towns.

In the whole history of the communities the mediation of the personal relations committees have been found adequate for the settlement of differences. The problem of violence has simply not arisen.

Speaking Personally

WOMEN AND THE PEACE PLEDGE

LAST week I was commenting on the comparative fewness of the women who have signed the peace pledge—only 20,000 as compared with 100,000 men—and I was suggesting that women pacifists who have not yet signed should act as though the letter Dick Sheppard was about to write appealing for more women signatories had actually been written.

I know that Dick was puzzled and disappointed at the lack of response to his first letter. He was expecting hundreds of thousands to respond in a few months.

This week I am to discuss what I believe to be one important factor in the situation that puzzled him. It is the diffidence of the women who feel that their signatures aren't worth having because they wouldn't anyway be asked to join up if war came.

"Isn't it," they feel, "a bit silly to make a to-do about renouncing war when we aren't liable to be called to join the army, or the navy or the air force, and when we don't stand to lose anything worth mentioning if we do sign the pledge? For men it means something, for us it's just meaningless, or else a bit of swank."

I BELIEVE that this way of thinking accounts for thousands of non-signatories, especially among older women who aren't likely to be called on either to nurse the wounded or to make munitions. It is very understandable. I expect every woman pacifist who is no longer young has at some time or another felt the same, even if further reflection has led her to sign the pledge.

Though the feeling is very natural, I believe it to be rather seriously mistaken. Sheer weight of numbers is in itself important; that, however, is not the consideration that I want to press. There is a subtler and a much more profound consideration than that concerned with counting heads.

I want to suggest that the women pacifists who hold back because they are women are unconsciously helping to support the view that fighting-capacity is what counts: that a man is more important than a woman just because he may be called upon to fight or to refuse to fight.

If we look at it in this way we shall see that such women are doing exactly what they least want to do. They are encouraging what is at bottom a militaristic attitude.

Surely pacifism isn't merely—isn't even primarily—a question of influencing the government by the number of potential fighters who will refuse to fight.

THE peace pledge is something profoundly important quite apart from its immediate effect on the Duff-Coopers and the Inskips. It is a positive affirmation that the individual human will is free to resist the tyranny of a dictatorship—of whatever kind—which seeks to impose upon it a code which is a moral outrage.

If this is so, an old lady of ninety-five who will never be asked either to drop a bomb or to make one, or even to be an air warden, can sign the pledge with as much reality as an able-bodied youth in the flower of his life.

It is true that he may be called on to fight and may have to suffer, even perhaps, to die for his refusal, and she will not. The fact is important.

He will be tested in ways which are obvious to the world; but it is not the testing that is at bottom the supremely

Don't think it isn't worth your while to sign the pledge, says

SUSAN MILES

in the second of her three articles.

important thing. It is the thing which is tested, or which is not tested—not, at any rate, in ways capable of being registered and statisticized—which is supremely important.

To belittle the value of a thing on the ground that its value is not susceptible to testing is to belittle its value. And to belittle the value of a renunciation which is of the will, or of the spirit, is to set the external, or material, testing above the spiritual reality. It is to neglect that which "the world's coarse

fighting forces or to the munitions factory) is not the only test.

There are a multitude of finer, subtler tests, both for men and women, which come to the surface once the independent value of the renunciation itself (apart from the conscription test) has been admitted.

There is the test of readiness to accept fear-begotten and fear-begetting rumour; there is the test of scorn.

Perhaps subtlest and most searching is the test of gloom. No-one who has utterly renounced war can be made gloomy by it. To use the language of Thomas à Kempis, such a one may grieve, but he will not dread.

A WOMAN'S repudiation of war, her spiritual rejection of it, her determination not to let her

"Angels Unite"—8

Drawn by ARTHUR WRAGG



"If only I could adjust myself!"

thumb and finger fail to plumb." It is to put oneself with doubting Thomas. "Except I thrust my hand . . . I will not believe."

THE renunciation of war is even more important than the proof of the renunciation of war. To renounce war when you will have no opportunity of refusing to fight is to claim faith in your good-faith, and to justify that faith by being something, rather than by doing something, is of supreme importance.

I believe that once this is recognized further considerations will begin to emerge. It will come to be seen that the test of conscription (whether to the

will or her spirit be sucked into the vortex, her refusal in her inmost being to consent to war, must strengthen those about her.

Such renunciation will implicate a woman positively in peace, as surely as another woman's spiritual consent to war implicates her positively in war, even though she never fights or makes munitions.

In a sense, there may be more significance rather than less in a woman signing the pledge, for when a woman signs, the very fact of her signing is in itself an affirmation that war is not just a question of fighting or not fighting, but of the will's consent, the will's repudiation.

I believe that Dick knew all this intuitively, and that that was why he hoped for the signatures of half a million women in response to his appeal.

All Lit Up
During
a Black-Out

DO the authorities really intend black-out demonstrations to be serious rehearsals? The question is prompted by the following incidents during a black-out in an East Anglian town.

While the town slumbered in peaceful darkness and the inhabitants felt secure from the marauding hosts in the sky, two public clocks were left alight showing their faces like great moons rising to mark the position of the town. One of these was a town clock in the centre of the town and one explanation offered in the local press is that no-one knew how to switch it off.

Out of five "casualties" who were to cooperate with the ambulance brigades, one was a "dead" man, and another, who was supposed to have "broken" legs, got so tired of waiting for a stretcher that he got up and walked home in spite of his disabilities.

The enthusiastic fire brigades covered themselves with glory by arriving at one of the fires before it was due to start.

This last incident clearly shows that these black-outs are not experimental, in which case the brigades would not have known of the fires until they were reported, but that they are organized with a view to making the public believe in the efficacy of these measures to mitigate the effects of modern war.

C. W. HALE

Victory without Violence

Hospitality Overcomes
Revenge

LATELY I read a paragraph in the *Nation* discussing the bombing of the Mahsud villages in Afghanistan by some British airmen.

The incident commented upon by this paper happened when "one of the bombing planes made a forced landing in the middle of a Mahsud village," and when "the airmen emerged unhurt from the wreckage, only to face a committee of five or six old women who happened to escape the bombs, brandishing dangerous-looking knives." The editor quotes *The Times* (of London), which runs thus:

A delightful damsel took the airmen under her wing and led them to a cave close by, and a "malik" (chieftain) took up his position at the entrance, keeping off the crowd of forty who had gathered round, shouting and waving knives.

Bombs were still being dropped from the air, so the crowd, envious of the security of the cave, pressed in stiflingly, and the airmen pushed their way out in the teeth of the hostile demonstration. They were fed and were visited by neighbouring "maliks," who were most friendly, and by a "mullah" priest, who was equally pleasant.

Women looked after the feeding arrangements, and supplies from Ladha and Razmak arrived safely. On the evening of the 24th they were escorted to Ladha, there they arrived at daybreak next day.

The escort disguised their captives as Mahsuds as a precaution against attack. It is significant that the airmen's defenders were first found in the younger generation of both sexes.

According to a Mahsud, hospitality is a quality by which he is known as a man, and therefore he cannot afford to miss his opportunity, even when dealing with someone who can be systematically relentless in enmity.

From the practical point of view the Mahsud pays for this very dearly, as we must always pay for that which we hold most valuable. It is the mission of civilization to set for us the right standard of valuation.

— Rabindranath Tagore, in *Woodbrooke, International Journal*, June, 1930 (quoted by A. Ruth Fry in *More Victories Without Violence*.)

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

April 23, 1938.

AFTER ROME: WORLD TALKS

SO everything in the Anglo-Italian garden is lovely? We wish we could say so.

But because SIGNOR MUSSOLINI and MR. CHAMBERLAIN have made their respective positions plain to one another are we to overlook the little matter of this country's arms programme, which, while it cannot be said to be directed only against Italy, certainly hasn't been retarded in the very least degree by the improvement in Anglo-Italian relations?

It is a well-known fact that during (and therefore despite) the war on Abyssinia, this country and Italy were on the very brink of war with one another. Now we are supposed to be locked in the fondest of embraces. Yet the arms race goes on with unabated frenzy.

Good, Bad and Indifferent

The actual text of the agreement as signed in Rome on Saturday calls for no alteration of the view taken on the strength of the reported nature of it.

The view expressed in this column last week might be confirmed by saying that the agreement is not good, bad, or indifferent, but good, bad and indifferent. Indifferent in the curiously literal sense that the position now is not different—at any rate radically—from that which existed before the agreement. Positively bad at least in its legalizing of war implied in the recognition of Italy's Abyssinian Empire.

But good if only it gives us a breather in which to press to a successful conclusion the demand for a real peace settlement of such a nature that it is followed by the ending of the arms race.

Dangerous Friendships

No mere pessimism, much less carping criticism, bids us warn our readers against unduly magnifying that very limited good.

Indeed, we shall be told that we are far too optimistic and trusting. For under the system of power politics which obtains in the world today, limited friendships can be very dangerous—to the cause of general peace if not actually to the "friends" themselves.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN's efforts which have now borne fruit have, indeed, frequently been referred to as an attempt to break Italy away from Germany. If France makes a similar agreement with Italy as a result of talks which have already begun between those countries, will Germany feel she has any less need of her arms? And if she, too, should come in to form the Four Power Pact which naturally produced considerable fears among the USSR and some of the smaller European countries some years ago, will those fears not be revived?

The Lesson for Pacifists

The lesson of the Anglo-Italian agreement, as of the general policy of which

The Task Before Us



by

STUART D. MORRIS

IT has been said that we never go so far as when we do not quite know where we are going. Progress is the result of experiment rather than experience—the readiness to take a leap into the dark which, though it may be justified by reason, is an expression of faith.

For faith, being "the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things not seen," is the power by which we continually bring into existence something which had not been previously realized.

It is in this sense that we speak of pacifism as a faith. It is in this way that we can talk not only of our task but of our resources.

It is for this reason that pacifism cannot be seen merely in terms of a negative.

A Social Phenomenon

MUCH as we rightly honour those who were conscientious objectors in the last war and showed many of us the way in which we ought to walk, pacifism today differs from the attitude of the individual conscientious objector.

It has, indeed, become a social phenomenon, and the Peace Pledge Union is the expression of that new factor.

it is now seen to be but a part, is for pacifists to press on with their demand for talks on a world-wide basis.

If regional conferences appear to be a more practical proposition as a preliminary to a world agreement, no-one need complain of that. But conversations between only two Powers, or those which exclude any country in a given region, are a different matter altogether, and not to be regarded as contributing to the ending of the conflict of interests but only to the adjustment of particular interests as between themselves. Little good can come of merely badgering the Government about the ineffectiveness of the Anglo-Italian talks.

What is much more to the point now is to ascertain what practical steps are being taken by the Government to reach a world agreement.

The pressure of public opinion must be brought to bear on the Government until it acts along the lines recommended by its own "economic adviser," M. VAN ZEELAND.

The Government's Inaction

In the debate in the House of Lords just before Easter, the UNDER-SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS could make no better reply to such a demand from the Opposition than to parade all the difficulties, knock down a few straw men, and vaguely hope that "it might be possible" sometime "to explore and pursue these difficult questions."

Though LORD HALIFAX felt it necessary to add a touch of colour to his understudy's reply when it was found to have produced such dismay in the House, those who seek a constructive peace to end the present nightmare of an armed world will not be satisfied with his merely telling us that the Government has not been inactive. Not only can a useful purpose "be served by going into details upon the action which the Government has taken," but an even more useful purpose will be served when that action is sufficiently effective to speak for itself.

Thus the Peace Pledge Union's manifesto, with its insistent plea for a world peace treaty, is again seen to be a supremely practical document.

It is, moreover, the need of the moment. Indeed, it seems as if every week makes it more urgent that it should be brought before the widest possible public and given ever-increasing support till the Government is left in no doubt whatever as to the people's will.

Go out to the public with this manifesto, and let your slogan be, After Rome: world talks!

It combines in its history and purpose both the pledge of the individual who renounces war and the union of such individuals within a fellowship of constructive peace-makers. The appeal to men and women to renounce war because of its horrors or its futility is a legitimate one, but the majority of folk will not be won for pacifism by such an appeal.

Many will be ready to undergo horrors and to take action which may be futile rather than do nothing, and pacifism is still only too often seen in terms of an attempt to keep one's own hands clean and one's conscience unsullied while the rest of the world goes to hell.

Alternative to War

OUR immediate task, therefore, is to be seen in a determination to proclaim a pacifism that is not merely an abstention from war but a practical alternative to war.

The proved impracticability of "collective security" as it is commonly understood, the bewilderment of the thousands who, while acquiescing in ever-increasing armaments, regard war as more or less inevitable, provide us with a tremendous opportunity.

It is not as if pacifism had been tried and found wanting. Pacifism has not been tried and every other policy has been found wanting.

So our task lies to our hands—hence the issue of the Manifesto—and the plans for a nation-wide campaign.

The task for every group is that of making immediate plans to bring the Manifesto to the notice of its own district. Wide publicity can be secured for it through the local newspapers. It must be pressed upon the attention of the leaders of local thought.

Let it be made the chief topic of conversation so that there may be no excuse for anyone to say that he does not know what pacifism means or that it is just sitting still and doing nothing. A few weeks of steady permeation of public opinion will produce results even beyond our reckoning.

Results of Manifesto

THE demand for the Manifesto already indicates that members are finding in it a new point of contact with those who have not yet declared themselves.

The task of every member of the PPU must be to endeavour, on the basis of the Manifesto, to secure at least one new signatory a month for the next three months.

Up till now, apart from the initial answer to Dick Sheppard's original letter, signatories have come in daily at a steady rate. This has meant that the groups have had time to find their feet, and, more important still, to create a fellowship which need not fear a more sudden influx of new members.

We must see to it that we can hold those who will now join us—not only receiving from them fresh encouragement and enthusiasm, but able to give them what they have a right to expect if our pacifism is to be seen not in terms of signing a card but living out a faith.

The importance of the annual general meeting was that for the first time the PPU was able to register itself. The significance of it was to be seen in the fact that, though there were inevitable differences of opinions, there was not only the right atmosphere in which differences could be expressed, but an underlying spirit of unity in a common purpose. Many letters received since have expressed confidence in the Sponsors and a readiness for renewed activity under their leadership.

Blazing a New Trail

SO let us concentrate on the task immediately ahead, content to await the solution of any difficulties that may arise, not expecting to see in detail exactly where we are going.

We can never be an organized party of tourists following a well-planned route—or even, as it were, visiting the war graves of Europe.

We are pioneers, blazing a new trail, into a country of which there are as yet no maps, able to look back and feel justified in the steps that we have so far taken, determined to make the new move which has opened up for us, and content to know that we shall be ready to face the further tasks ahead as we "endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

Another P.P.U. Sponsor
Dr. ALEX WOOD
will write next week

"Neither Side A Winner"

THE following is taken from *The Secular Masque*, written by John Dryden, and published in 1700.

Mars: *Inspire the Vocal Brass,
Inspire;
The World is past its
Infant Age:
Arms and Honour,
Arms and Honour,
Set the Martial Mind on
Fire,
And kindle Manly Rage.
Mars has lookt the Sky
to Red;
And Peace, the Lazy
Good, is fled.
Plenty, Peace, and Plea
sure fly;
The Sprightly Green
In Woodland-Walks no
more is seen;
The Sprightly Green has
drunk the Tyrian Dye.
Sound the Trumpet, beat
the Drum;
Through all the World
around,
Sound a Reveille, Sound,
Sound,
The Warrior God is
come.*

Momus: *Thy Sword within thy
Scabbard keep,
And let Mankind agree;
Better the World were
fast asleep,
Than kept awake by
Thee.
The Fools are only thin-
ner,
With all our Cost and
Care;
But neither side a win-
ner,
For Things are as they
were.*

YOUTH WARNS MR. ROOSEVELT

"We Will Not Fight for Interests in Far East"

MEN NEED HOMES, NOT WARSHIPS

AN open letter to the President of the United States, declaring "If you lead us into war in the Far East, we will not support your Administration in that war," has been sent to Mr. Roosevelt by the executive committee of the National Council of Methodist Youth.

"We protest," says the Open Letter, against "the provisional 24-hour policy of your Administration; particularly in the manner in which you have allowed American troops and warships to be used for the protection of American financial and business interests in the Far East. This endangers the lives of millions of our generation because of the consequent threat of war."

"We also condemn utterly, as the first step toward mobilization of a military dictatorship over labour and a dictatorial denial of American liberties, the coming support by the Administration of the Sheppard-Hill Bill in Congress."

PEOPLE'S RIGHT DENIED

"Likewise, Mr. President, we protest at the manner in which you defeated the Ludlow War Referendum measure in Congress. You spoke and acted against any real use of the democratic process which you spoke so much about in the last election. You placed... all the influence you could muster into an effort to defeat the proposition."

"Free discussion by elected representatives of the people was cut off, and so fundamental a process as the right to vote on the matter of whether they were willing to die for American financial interests in another war was denied the people."

"Mr. President, were you afraid such an amendment would hamper your war preparations? We believe it would."

"Our further indictment against you, Mr. President, includes your recently announced naval expansion programme. That programme, in our opinion, is for only one purpose: aggressive warfare for the protection of the American dollar abroad."

SACRIFICED TO INTERESTS

"We can speak of your attempt to increase military appropriations as nothing but anti-social action, in view of the problems of increasing unemployment and the necessity for more money for relief."

"Men need homes; they get warships. Students need education; they get military training. People need food; the Government answers with a programme of increased expenditure for war."

"That, Mr. President, is a criminal sacrifice of the needs of the mass of our people on the part of the Administration to the network of the business, financial, and munitions interests who profit alone from war and war preparations."

"We express the opinion of the National Council of Methodist Youth through the committee, Mr. President, when we say: *If you lead us into war in the Far East, we will not support your Administration in that war. It will not be our war, we cannot fight it.*"



Two of the youngest members leading the Basque House team to victory. Copies of this photograph, postcard size, can be obtained, price 3d. each, from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

World Conference Now Can End War Danger

MILLIONS STARVE AMID PLENTY

THE most crowded meeting of its kind held in Kettering for a long time—about 1,000 people were present—heard George Lansbury appeal from a Peace Pledge Union platform for the immediate calling of a world peace conference which would

Remedy the injustices of the Versailles Treaty;

Give fairer access for all nations to the colonial countries; and

Initiate a genuine policy of disarmament.

Mr. Lansbury stressed the fact that Britain, in common with the other victors in the Great War, must bear considerable responsibility for the hatred and war fever in the world today. He also urged his audience to have faith that even at this late hour world war might be averted.

When, in 1919, plans for a League of Nations were being made, said Mr. Lansbury, he had tried to convince President Wilson and Colonel House that the first essential was that the League should concern itself with the remedying of grievances. In fact, however, the revision of treaties had been put low in the list of the League's functions and had rarely been employed at all.

THE LESSON OF AUSTRIA

Dealing with the effects of the Peace Treaties, Mr. Lansbury pointed out that Austria had been made a torso without any head or limbs. Vienna, formerly capital of a country of 47,000,000, had been left the overgrown capital of a country of 6,250,000.

If the victors had been willing to let Austria and Germany unite before Hitler came into power, there might never have been a Hitler at all. But we had refused this, so Hitler came and achieved the unity in his own way.

In short, it had to be recognized that the trouble was within ourselves as much as it was within others. In the Treaty of Versailles, and in subsequent colonial and armament policy, we had committed injustices which had to be recognized.

Mr. Lansbury wanted a peace conference called at once for the friendly discussion and settlement of differences. It was not only with Italy, Germany, or Poland that he wanted negotiations, but a conference for the whole world.

DANGER OF DELAY

It was no use waiting for the Spanish War to be settled before tackling the problem, because the longer it was postponed the more dangerous it became. "I do not think war is inevitable," added Mr. Lansbury, "but while

armaments are piled up the danger is steadily increasing."

"All statesmen are agreed that after a next war there will be no winners. There will be chaos and losers everywhere. Are we pacifists doing anything wrong, therefore, in opposing war?"

"People say you must be willing to die for democracy, but I say, 'live for democracy.' Cooperation and comradeship will lead us to life, but competition and war lead to death."

"LET'S MAKE WAR AWKWARD"

Another speaker, Miss Ruth Fry, showed how millions of people lacked the barest essentials of existence, although there were the possibilities of the boundless production of wealth and food was actually destroyed.

In 1933, for example, it had been estimated that 2,500,000 people died of starvation and 1,200,000 committed suicide through stress of economic circumstances.

Experts frequently stressed that it would be vitally important in future war time that the entire population should be behind the Government.

Even five percent of the population could make it very awkward for the Government if they opposed it in time of war.

"Well, let's make it awkward," she urged, amid applause.

Pacifist M.P.s At Today's Convention

TWO further speakers have been announced for today's Parliamentary Pacifist Group convention in the City Hall, Barker's Pool, Sheffield. They are Lady Mabel Smith, a West Riding County Councillor, and the Rev. Henry Carter.

The other speakers, as announced previously, are: James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, M.P., Cecil H. Wilson, M.P., H. G. McGhee, M.P., Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., Miss Rose Simpson, and Dick Wood.

Three resolutions will be put to the convention, dealing with the renunciation of war, a practical and positive pacifist policy, and the removal of all preparations and commitments of a military character.

This is the sixth such gathering through which the Parliamentary Pacifist Group hopes to provide opportunities for the public expression of pacifist political aims and to influence the foreign policies of existing political parties in a pacifist direction.

EDUCATION A WAY TO PEACE

The threefold challenge of the modern world:

- (a) Maintenance of peace;
 - (b) Safeguarding and extension of human liberty; and
 - (c) More equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity,
- may, in a large measure, be solved by the extension of free education based on democratic principles.

So said a resolution adopted at the final session of the National Union of Students' Congress in Nottingham last week.

The resolution, which declared that the universities should educate students to fit them to meet this challenge, added:

Students should recognize that the present economic and political situation militates against such an extension and that constant vigilance and activity are required merely to prevent the curtailment of existing educational facilities and the abandonment of democratic principles.

Furthermore, upon students who have received a university education devolves a special responsibility to tackle the problems of the modern world and initiate what positive action may be found necessary for their immediate alleviation and ultimate solution.

At the close of the congress the president, emphasizing its success, said it had proved that there remained in the universities a remnant of the tradition of the student's thinking for himself.

J. Middleton Murry

WILL SPEAK ON

"CHRISTIAN PACIFISM"

In the Common Room of the

King's Weigh House Church,

THOMAS STREET, OXFORD STREET

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THURSDAY, APRIL 28,

at 7.15 p.m.

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Switzerland

Woman's Point of View

A Message from France

The following was written especially for PEACE NEWS

By CAMILLE DREVET,

distinguished French writer and pacifist

WOMEN must, at the present moment, in the midst of the folly which is so widespread, use to the uttermost their reason, their good sense, and their womanhood.

What woman can agree to live any longer in this lunatic asylum, where everything is turned topsy-turvy and contrary to common sense?

Life today is international, and yet politicians are struggling to keep alive an archaic nationalism. Men are more than ever dependent one upon another, and yet they are being marshaled one against the other. Science should be ameliorating the lives of the people, giving to everyone the means of eating, of living, of being human—and yet science is struggling to destroy mankind and its possessions.

More than ever, men speak of liberty; and upon mankind is being imposed the worst form of slavery that can exist, for men are being sentenced to forge the instruments of their own destruction.

People are inflamed against external dictatorships, and react toward an internal dictatorship of unilateralism.

The nations are threatened—almost all of them—with bankruptcy; and the more they are threatened, the more millions do they hurl into the bottomless pit of rearmament.

Never before has so much been spoken of the rights of children or of the respect which we owe to children, and yet all the children of the world are being condemned to death by asphyxiation, by burning, or by some still worse torture.

If only women could really understand their duty, if only they would all range themselves against war, if only they would say:

We would give all we have, our brains, our hearts, and our strength, in the cause of human society, to force the nations to accept disarmament, justice and cooperation;

But we refuse to give our hearts, our brains, or our strength to the work of death—to the unpardonable crime of war;

—if the women of all countries would say this, quite firmly and quite clearly, their voices would be heard across the frontiers, and, at their call, men would awake from the nightmare which hangs over them all.

The Adventure of Peace

I HAVE received this week a letter which is too long to print in full, but from which I should like to quote.

Miss Esther Roper writes:

It is true that women are the mothers of the race and care for children. But so, I hope, do the fathers. The Peace Pledge Union always seems to emphasize the passive side of women's nature. . . . When you want to rouse the young you appeal to the generous, care-free vigour of the young.

The militarists know these qualities better than we do, apparently. They don't talk about women being less strong than men, nor appeal to men to protect women and their babies. They appeal to the young women to come when the day arrives, to take their places in the munition factory, to drive lorries and to meet danger and risk. And the women come forward.

The pacifist movement is too negative, and they respond to an appeal that takes them outside their personal lives into the life of the community. . . . go where for once they are reckoned as equals in fearlessness and keenness.

What a pity to lose touch with these fine young women, afraid of nothing, loyal to one another, full of life and vigour.

There is a good deal of justification for this criticism. Older people are apt to forget the passionate desire to "do something about it" that animates the young.

Perhaps it is because they realize that, however vigorous the action, it accomplishes extraordinarily little. Perhaps because they have seen so much of ill-considered action they are doubtful of hot-headedness.

It becomes the old to be cautious and reasonable because they have lived through their own headstrong period. But because they no longer suffer from this fever to be doing something they must not ignore the crying need in the young. If the pacifist ignores it, the militarist is well aware of it, as our correspondent points out.

And it is not that there is nothing to be done for peace by the young. Rather it is that the approach to the young is the wrong one. They must be called to action. There must be demands, and the more tremendous the demands on their energy and their fearlessness the better.

You will not get a young woman, or a young man either, to sell PEACE NEWS on the kerb by telling them that the more people who read it the greater the number of recruits for peace.

But tell them it is a job that needs courage, point out the tough individual who sells a different paper on the same corner, remind them of their acquaintances who will be exceedingly embarrassed when they pass them, urge them to pocket their respectability—make the job sound as difficult and unpleasant an adventure as possible—and it will have the appeal that youth responds to.

These are more than tactics. Youth looks for adventure. If it finds it in war rather than in peace it will be the fault of those who have not shown that seeking peace is an adventure, and that its demands on courage, energy and loyalty are greater than the demands war makes.

A Call to Action

THOSE women who want to be up and doing have their chance this week. The latest leaflet from PPU headquarters is entitled, *Six Reasons Why Women Should Join the Peace Pledge Union Now*.

This is a really excellent leaflet, well got up, with an attractive cover, on which the word "Women" stands out in bold lettering. The six reasons are well and concisely stated in direct and forcible language.

The appeal is not to a particular type of woman; one or more of the reasons will strike home to every woman.

Briefly, the reasons are these: the first, because war is a crime against humanity; the second appeals to women as the bearers of children; the third to women as equal citizens with men, having joint responsibility; the fourth shows that the glory and romance of war has been largely of woman's making.

The fifth point is headed with the question, "Why the PPU?" And the answer is that there is now no Parliamentary channel through which effective protest can be made. We have to create public opinion.

The last point is headed, "Why Now?" and the answer to that is that soon it may be too late.

But every woman should have a copy of this pamphlet and see for herself how valuable it will be in making the aims and work of the PPU more widely known.

Twenty-one Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*, April 19, 1917.

IT is eleven months ago now since *The Challenge*, that progressive Church of England weekly, in its issue of May 5, explained that "if we are really to fight (and to that we have long ago made up our minds) it must be with vigour and the full use of our resources."

A little later, in the same issue, we are told: "There is abundant evidence that women and children in Germany are suffering from the shortage of food, and the fact illustrates the impossibility in modern war of confining the struggle to combatants."

"A blockade is a legitimate act of war, and is perhaps the only way in which the contest can be shortened; but it is a bitter and cruel necessity to which the Christian conscience must find it hard to reconcile itself."

"It must always be harder for a Christian man to inflict suffering than to endure it, and the stern necessity that compels us to punish the innocent with the guilty helps us to realize that war is fundamentally incompatible with the ideals of Christianity."

"Unless we can feel something of the tragedy of Germany we shall not be able to carry through this tremendous struggle without moral deterioration."

"We dare not relax our grip, for war is a ruthless business that gives little scope for generosity; but at least we can let the world know that we find no satisfaction in the injury we are compelled to inflict on those who have no personal responsibility for the reckless ambitions of German world-policy."

Perhaps Bernard Shaw is right in a saying attributed to him: "Great Britain has put the FEAR OF GERMANY before the FEAR OF GOD."

But the pamphlet cannot do this without your help.

What will you do to get this pamphlet into the hands of every woman in the country?

To what organizations do you belong? Will you distribute the leaflet there?

Have you a job in an office or a factory? Will you give away some there?

Do you work with a group? Will you organize a door-to-door canvass with the pamphlet?

Do you know any prominent women in your district? Why not send them a copy?

Have you a shop? Leave some on the counter. Do you know a friendly bookshop which would take a few?

These are only a few of the ways in which you can get the leaflet into as many hands as possible. Will you do your share, however small?

The cost of the leaflets is 25 for 4d., 50 for 8d., and 100 for 1s. 4d., all prices post free.

* * *

Requests for literature should not be included in general letters, but should be as short as possible, stating the number of leaflets required, enclosing the necessary payment, and stating the address to which they should be sent. Businesslike inquiries save a tremendous amount of time and trouble in the distributing department.

If anyone has time for writing letters as well as distributing the pamphlet, I wish they would write and tell me how they manage their campaign, and with what success they meet.

I would be glad, too, if those who are kind enough to write to me would make it clear whether or not their letter is intended for publication. Often letters are too long for use, but I am always glad to be able to quote from them, or to discuss in this column points which they raise

M. S.

Radio

Essential Service in Wartime

BBROADCASTING will probably be regarded as an essential service in the event of an emergency.

This much is made clear by a memorandum issued to the staff of the BBC, in which it is stated that the corporation feels a responsibility for ensuring that the essential staff should be available for an efficient conduct of broadcasting.

For this reason members of the BBC staff who wish to enrol as air raid wardens or to join Territorial units are asked to consult their chiefs before doing so.

GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA

The corporation has, however, offered every facility—subject to these conditions—to enable members of its staff to prepare themselves for national service in the event of emergency.

It has, of course, already been suggested that the householder should arrange to equip his gas-proof room with a wireless set—hence the need for sufficient staff to maintain the "essential service" of government propaganda.

Here's the Answer

NOT A FIGHTING ANIMAL

The following will help to provide an effective answer to those who assert that man is a fighting animal:

Men have always done a good deal of "scrapping";

In some places and at some epochs this was a violent and savage affair; at others, relatively harmless; it has been entirely a matter of convention;

Three hundred years ago "the best people" were expected to fight a duel on the slightest provocation; now they are not expected to do so;

In the eighteenth century Marlborough gave a day's notice before beginning the bombardment of a town. Today even a formal declaration of war is coming to be regarded as unnecessary;

It is for man alone to decide whether he shall do his "scrapping" murderously or according to rules which limit the amount of violence to be used or even to abolish it altogether;

Mass murder is no more a necessity than individual murder;

In 1600 duelling must have seemed to many people a law of nature, but we have abolished duelling and there is no reason why we should not abolish war.

These points are elaborated in Aldous Huxley's pamphlet, *What are you going to do about it?*

EVIL DAYS

... and forth
(Stuffed out with big preamble, holy names,
And adjurations of the God in Heaven),
We send our mandates for the certain death

Of thousands and ten thousands! Boys and girls,
And women, that would groan to see a child

Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,
The best amusement for our morning meal!

The poor wretch, who has learnt his only prayers

From curses, who knows scarcely words enough

To ask a blessing from his Heavenly Father,

Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute And technical in victories and defeats,
And all our dainty terms for fratricide;
Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues

Like mere abstractions, empty sounds to which

We join no feeling and attach no form! As if the soldier died without a wound;
As if the fibres of this godlike frame Were gored without a pang; as if the wretch,

Who fell in battle, doing bloody deeds,
Passed off to Heaven, translated and not killed;

As though he had no wife to pine for him

No God to judge him! Therefore, evil days

Are coming on us, O my countrymen! And what if all-avenging Providence,
Strong and retributive, should make us know

The meaning of our words, force us to feel

The desolation and the agony Of our fierce doings?

— From *Fears in Solitude*, written by Coleridge in April, 1798, during the alarm of an invasion.

WHIRLIGIG

by
Percival Gull

AT least one Borough has decided to enrol expert cooks in connexion with its air raid precautions scheme.

Next week I shall tell you how to cook "Tom Tit Brule au Prince du Sud-Amerique" under shell-fire.

DIARY OF A PERFECT
PACIFIST

Tuesday, 14th: Cuffed Albert's ear and took his pea-shooter away. Peas hurt.

3 p.m.: Returned pea-shooter. Signed "gentlemen's agreement" with Albert. Albert to use cotton-wool pellets only.

Wednesday, 15th: Refused to go out as force necessary to open front door. Smoked all day.

11 p.m.: Refused to go to bed, as force necessary to climb stairs. Slept in arm-chair.

Thursday, 16th: Still sleeping. Force necessary to wake me up. Wife a pacifist.

NEWS FROM ALL QUARTERS

Germany has 5,400,000 sheep. (Daily paper.)

ROMANTIC AT LARGE

LIEUTENANT GADD-SIRE'S latest adventure proves that there is still romance to be found in the army.

Just before he left for the manoeuvres he was reading *Don Quixote* and no-one was more surprised than the Honorable Prudence Bunn when he called her his "blue-eyed Toboso."

But the camp sentry was even more surprised when he saw the Lieutenant come riding up on a piebald nag, dressed in shining armour.

The Junior Army and Navy Club colours were floating at his lance-tip. He bawled at the sentry: "Away, varlet, away, wouldst have me pink thee!"

The sentry fired. Gadd-Sire was knocked off his horse. A searchlight was turned on him, two aeroplanes bombed him, snipers potted him, all in the excitement of the moment.

When the Brigadier discovered who he was he had him dragged inside.

The Lieutenant was not injured, fortunately, but his armour was so badly dented that his batman spent the whole evening extracting him with a tin-opener.

COOKERY NOTES

LAST week I promised to let you have the recipe for "Tom-Tit Brule au Prince du Sud-Amerique."

That must be deferred, unfortunately. Monsieur Boulevard was reading his notes on the steamer coming over when a rough sea swept them away.

He is now experimenting with oysters, cream, partridge, spring cucumber, white wine, turtle's eggs, caviare and bayleaf, in the hope of finding the right formula again; in which case I will pass it on.

TUG-O'-WAR LATEST

THE Pro-Gulls and Anti-Gulls are still at it. The Anti-Gulls have been reinforced by the addition of a gentleman at Tooting.

One of the most amused spectators of the contest last week was Mr. Percival Gull.

He cheered the Anti-Gulls and announced that he didn't care who won, anyway.

ENGAGEMENTS THIS WEEK

Monday: Talk about Peace.

Tuesday: Talk about War.

Wednesday: Talk about War.

Thursday: Talk about Peace.

Sleep all the evening.

Friday: Group meeting.

Saturday: Talk about War.

Sunday: Forget it.

STOP PRESS TIT-BIT

The Cabinet swarmed at ten o'clock this morning.

MY SPELLING BEE

Me: The word, Colonel Bombast, is "peace: freedom from, or cessation of, war."

Colonel Bombast: P-I-E-C-E. Peace! Gong!

Sent by a Reader



This picture of thatched cottages at Godshill, taken by a reader while on holiday in the Isle of Wight, caught the thatcher at work

PERSONALIA

IT is never easy to get back to the old accustomed round after a holiday.

For a day or two we become heroes, leading the sort of life we like; we climb mountains, dress like Beau Brummels, lounge at our ease in deck chairs, and spend money with careless ease.

Then, suddenly, Time puts the brake on and we go back to our little obscure corners; we shed our glory and become simply names on the parish register.

But that, of course, is as it should be. It is better to be a poor clerk than a Beau Brummel or a lounge lizard; and nothing is more boring than to have nothing to do but the things you like doing.

The people who get the best out of life are those who aim for the sun. Anticipation is the spice of life. The real hero is the man who never gets what he wants but keeps on trying, who sets himself an unattainable ideal.

A GREAT ARTIST

THAT is the secret of the artist; and this column would not be complete without some mention of the great artist who has just died: Fedor Ivanovitch Chaliapin.

Chaliapin was a cobbler's son; he was at one time a railway porter and a boatman on the Volga. Dozens of legends, most of them probably untrue, have been built round the story of his life, but we have it on Chaliapin's own authority that it was nothing for his peasant father to beat his mother into insensibility.

Yet, in spite of his sordid upbringing, the artist in him lived and flourished. He was 23 when Mamontoff discovered him and gave him his first real chance in Moscow.

He became almost a holy figure to lovers of grand opera, and humorous stories galore have been told about his dynamic personality. It is said that on one occasion an exasperated manager lowered the fire curtain between Chaliapin and the prima donna.

Count Your
Many Blessings . . .

ON the same day that the following appeared in the leader column of the *Daily Express*:-

We are the "most blessed" of all the people on earth in spite of present troubles. Our fields are just as green, our soil as fruitful (though we don't use it), our mineral treasures under the earth are as abundant as when the sun of full "prosperity" shone upon us. The birds are happy, and the poor beasts are contented that we have tamed to serve us.

The whole bundle of misery, doubt, fear is in the midst of that magnificent, superior creature called Man.

But his huge laugh, his great bass voice, are now stilled, and those of us who regularly attended his concerts can only remember with affection the great Fedor Ivanovitch Chaliapin. We shall wait a long time for such another Rabelaisian figure.

MADAME Camille Drevet writes a women's article this week. In 1928 Mme Drevet journeyed round the world and since then has travelled in Eastern Europe, the USSR, Mexico, Cuba, the USA, Scandinavia—in fact, round the world again.

A great many pamphlets and articles have crystallized Mme Drevet's observations on social conditions in the various countries, and she has also lectured



CAMILLE DREVET

in the countries themselves on a great variety of political and economic problems.

She has been International Secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom since December 1930. She is also General Secretary of the Ligue des Combattants de la Paix.

Mme. Drevet's wish now is to go to India, to study Indian social problems at first hand.

"Disarmament," as it has lately been pointed out, is a misleading term. It is a disarmament in the soul even more than in arsenal that we need, and the one is impossible without the other.—Havelock Ellis, *Questions of our day*.

... Count Them
Gun by Gun

— this is what the *Evening News* leader writer was urging:

The nation may as well make up its mind—for it will have to do so sooner or later and it's about time we stopped doing things later—that security is more important than scenery and anti-aircraft shells than shell-fish.

Naturally there must be give and take, and we are disinclined to believe that adequate practice grounds for anti-aircraft gunners cannot be found around our coasts without doing any real injury to the amenities or to local enterprise.

It cannot be all take by the military authorities nor all keep by the local beauty spot enthusiasts. But the guns must come first.

Queer Origins of

THE WORDS

WE USE

3.—TO BADGER

ALTHOUGH the habit of badgering people is by no means declining, the actual practice from which the phrase "to badger" originally came has, fortunately, died out.

Thus, although it is obvious there is some connexion with the badger, few people know what exactly badgering was originally like.

It was a common practice at one time to kennel a badger and then to set dogs on to the task of routing it out. But no sooner was it dragged out than it was put back into its kennel in order to recover from the effects—only to be similarly attacked again.

The process was repeated until even the watchers' crude conception of "sport" failed to derive any satisfaction from it. Thus, the verb "to badger" suited well the repeated action of teasing when applied to people.

Next time you read in the newspaper that "the opposition badgered the Premier for a straight answer," you will realize the process wasn't quite so bad for Mr. Chamberlain as the phrase would have indicated at one time.

Case for a United Front

A reader's problem in the *Modern Woman* (March 25):

Edna (Manchester).—My brother makes me mad. He is always right and contemptuous of everything else. I mean, of our clergyman, and Mr. Eden and Hitler and mother and me. How can we knock the conceit out of him?

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NEW BOOKS

SKIMMING THE CAULDRON

News of England. By Beverley Nichols. Cape. 7s. 6d.

Reviewed by Max Plowman

WHAT is to be done with Mr. Beverley Nichols?

The true answer is Nothing. The pity of it is that Mr. Beverley Nichols doesn't know it.

I seem to remember that he wrote his autobiography almost as soon as he left school. There wasn't much harm in that. It's natural to be self-important when you are adolescent; if Mr. Nichols revealed the fact that a show of self-importance was a trick of modern journalism, which his elders and betters had taught him only too well, he was not much to be blamed for allowing the complaint to grow on him like a protuberance.

The trouble is that he will not allow himself to grow up. No sooner thought than written and published, seems to be his motto. And it is a bad motto for a young man who talks clever nonsense about serious matters.

If only someone could have caught him in his "religious" phase and induced him to go into Retreat! If only there were a fund for professional writers in spiritual need of a long period of silence!

As it is, Mr. Beverley Nichols catches the ears of the groundlings by playing the part of popular will o' the wisp. Five years ago he thought he was a pacifist. Today he believes there are some things worth fighting for. Well, whoever said there weren't?

Peace is worth fighting for if you choose the right weapons. Does Mr. Beverley Nichols need to see Europe turned into a charnal house before he can learn that modern weapons of warfare will "defend" nothing but murderers? It would seem so.

This book might well have been called "Up the Garden Path." It covers everything the newspaper-mind is likely to be interested in, and after the best manner of the Blimpish sentimentalist—the outpost-of-Empire man we have endured for fifty years—it tells us that the country is going to the dogs. It looks wistfully at the strong man in the black shirt and asks: "Without strength, of what can our kindness avail?" The answer again is Nothing.

Let Mr. Beverley Nichols eschew that kindness to himself which is the well-spring of his chronic sentimentality and seek strength in stoney silence. For post-adolescent self-importance is fascism. Vide Mosley.

LONDONDERRY AIR

Ourselves and Germany. By the Marquess of Londonderry. Robert Hale. 5s.

Running through this book is a strong sympathy with Germany, an equally strong desire to remove the disabilities under which Germany has suffered ever since the close of the war, and to lay the foundations of a fruitful friendship and a policy of cooperation with that country.

The Treaty of Versailles is roundly condemned, as is the policy which France and Britain have pursued toward Germany during the last nineteen years. Lord Londonderry's outline of that policy constitutes an indictment that is worth placing on record.

But it is when we come to the author's reasons for cultivating friendship with Germany that the trouble begins. The Londonderry air which runs through these pages like a theme song, is the dirge of anti-bolshevism. Here are a few samples:—

Our Foreign Office appears to condone the associations with communism and bolshevism through our affiliation with France,

while paying but little regard to the robust attitude of Germany, Italy, and Japan, which wholeheartedly condemn communism and bolshevism.

That Germany, Italy, and Japan condemn bolshevism is an attitude of mind which is not properly appreciated in this country.

We fail to recognize that the present condition of Spain is mainly the result of Red machinations.

Belgium is showing signs of bolshevism... I was at a loss to understand why we could not make common ground in some form or other with Germany in opposition to communism.

Guided by this "air," we are led directly to the Four-Power Pact, whereby Britain, France, Germany, and Italy are to make Europe safe for capitalism, imperialism and fascism. As Germany and Italy have intervened in Spain, so they would be able to intervene in France, for example, should a fascist coup take place. And after France, Belgium!

In order to secure this powerful defence against bolshevism, Lord Londonderry is prepared to make all manner of concessions to Hitler, including, apparently, the cession of colonies, and possibly also the annexation of territories populated by Germans.

That this policy of creating new empires is not going to secure peace in Europe is obvious from the start, since the fear which inspires it will be worked to the point of exhaustion.

Hence war will break out between these powers sooner or later; if, indeed, revolution has not occurred in the meantime as the result of the united pro-fascist policy of the members of the Four-Power Pact. Obviously, this is the wrong method of appeasing the have-not powers, and ought to put pacifists on their guard.

Indeed, Lord Londonderry's policy makes the challenge of a bold, constructive peace policy all the more urgent, since it is becoming increasingly clear that that challenge is the only hope of staving off the two-fold calamity of a world war and world revolution.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

INSIDE ARMAMENTS

The Big Firm. By Amabel Williams-Ellis. Collins. 8s. 6d.

The Big Firm—Consolidated Scientific Products—"not quite of the rank of Unilever or Imperial Chemicals... yet among the six or seven of next importance," is the background of this novel.

This is not much in it to do with pacifism apart from the description of an attempt to stop the export of arms to General Franco and some talk of an industrial league against war. This, purely as a pacifist, I regret.

The author has an extensive knowledge of science and of scientists and she might have told us more from the inside of their attitude to the scientific horror of armaments, to the question of their peculiar responsibility for things as they all too dangerously are.

Turning, however, from what it is not—this book describes the personnel and working of Consolidated Scientific Products. From his home in Wales young Owen Wynne sets out to join the firm and to undertake for them scientific research.

In his life, dominated now by the Big Firm, he finds much that is uncongenial; his work; the results of which he can no longer control; a love affair with Caro, the rather sinister daughter of William Morpew, one of the two brothers owning and controlling the destiny of CSP.

In contrast to a great deal of scientific implacability come the scenes, well described, of Owen's home in the Welsh mountains. He is an interesting young man and his ultimate fate—a job in Java—seems not to be deserved.

If your tastes are scientific the author's theme may be of sufficient interest in itself to absorb you; otherwise, you may find the method of pre-

sentation too leisurely and profuse and your attention at times elsewhere.
DENIS GODFREY.

A DANGEROUS GENIUS

England's Years of Danger. By Paul Frischauer. Cassell. 12s. 6d.

This book presents a history of the Napoleonic Wars by means of extracts from letters, documents and conversations by famous people of that time. It opens with Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power after the revolution, and ends with his defeat at Waterloo.

The central figure is Napoleon, whose inordinate ambition grew until he lost all sense of values, until he was capable of saying: "I do not care a damn for the lives of a million men" (page 280).

Yet these same men idolized him. The Marquise Josephine expresses the tragedy of his life when she writes: "And with an imagination like his, who can tell what he might not undertake..." (page 16). If only his genius had been directed into more pacific channels!

The Napoleonic Wars proved so costly to England that income tax had to be introduced for the first time, and one worthy statesman asked: "Is it possible to imagine, if this tax were once imposed, that we shall ever get rid of it?" (page 64). We can supply the answer! One chapter bears the title "Intervention in Spain," and is followed by an equally ironic title, "The Austrian Sacrifice."

Mr. Frischauer has gathered hundreds of documents, many of them published for the first time. The translation of the foreign extracts has been well done; those from the French being especially brilliant in style.

This novel method of allowing history to speak for itself proves very successful. To link the extracts the author has written only a few words of explanation; in fact, his words are so few that they are italicized.

To the student of history this detail work is invaluable. The general reader should find very interesting and readable the extracts dealing with Napoleon's character, the graphic description of the assassination of Tsar Paul, and the dramatic last Hundred Days.

It is to be feared, however, that in his anxiety to do justice to his subject, Mr. Frischauer has included many long extracts which will be valuable only to the student. To the general reader the book is of rather limited interest.

ARTHUR FREEMAN.

SINCE VERSAILLES

Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937. Edited with an introduction by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Oxford University Press. Two volumes, 2s. each.

To comment on these two handy little volumes would mean a survey of the whole of European diplomatic history since the Great War. The documents include not only formal treaties and pacts, but also ambassadorial notes and memoranda, as well as objects of more doubtful parentage, such as the Zinoviev letter. These documents are skilfully larded with extracts from speeches which serve to recall something of the political atmospheres in which the various agreements were made.

A very considerable part of the documents fall easily under two heads: (1) "Patching up the Versailles Treaty," (2) "Refusing to patch up the Versailles Treaty."

Under the second heading a gruesome exhibit is the Opinion of the Court of International Justice which damned the Austro-German Customs Union in the name of Austrian independence. The Hague Court was, unfortunately, not concerned with the principle that, other things being equal, equity shall prevail. Other things never are equal when the victors have made their terms.

By comparison, and in retrospect, the Kellogg Pact is dainty and fairylike in its unreality. Sir Austin Chamberlain's letter of comment to the American Ambassador should be studied by any pacifist who wishes to back out of his peace pledge with full diplomatic honours.

To any amateur of foreign affairs

FOR YOUR PUBLIC LIBRARY

Earlier Books Recalled by Patrick Richards

A BRASS HAT IN NO MAN'S LAND. By Brigadier-General Crozier. Cape. 2s.

This vivid revelation of the futility of modern war, the deliberate inculcation of blood-lust in recruits, the organization of prostitution, the wanton sacrifice of life, the warping of mind and spirit, and the physical horrors attendant on war, is particularly valuable coming from a ruthless militarist by tradition and training. Exposing the lying propaganda which drives men to murder in the name of ideals, General Crozier adds a later preface declaring that only pacifism can preserve England now that defence is non-existent.

these two volumes will prove as useful as a library. The editor's introduction is on the note of calm and judicial conservatism.

CREDITS OR SUBSIDIES?

Consumers' Credits and Unemployment. by J. E. Meade. Oxford University Press. 5s.

Recent developments have led economists to the conclusion that, at certain stages of the trade cycle, an injection of money into the system, by means of grants to consumers, will stimulate economic activity, raise the standard of life all round, increase total output, and relieve unemployment.

In Mr. Meade's last book, *An Introduction to Economic Analysis and Policy*, the theory behind this conclusion is developed.

The present work is an attempt to go beyond the conclusion, and find out the actual amount of subsidies—not "credits," as Mr. Meade persists in calling them—required to make the action effective.

On the assumption that the three methods usually advocated for relieving depression or averting a transition from boom to slump—a lowering of the interest rate, a budgetary deficit caused by remission of taxation, and wages cuts—will be insufficient for their purpose, Mr. Meade proposes that grants of one shilling per month and upward should be made to all old-age pensioners, all insured persons, and wives and children of such persons, wherever unemployment exceeds thirteen percent of the total working population.

This he assumes to be the basic amount of unemployment in present circumstances, and to consist of those workers who are in process of transit from one job or area. Depression and unemployment which he wants to cure by these grants is that unemployment which consists of workers who will not find work at all, because of the general decline in demand for commodities.

Whenever unemployment falls below eleven percent of the total working population, he proposes that a tax of one shilling a month and upwards should be levied on the erstwhile recipients of the grants, to prevent the boom from becoming dangerously inflationary.

His scheme is sound economically, in view of the analysis of economic processes offered by Mr. Keynes. Mr. Meade, however, underestimates the potentialities of a budget deficit in stimulating spending, and, of public works, in stimulating investment.

The similarity between Mr. Meade's proposal, and Major Douglas's, is only apparent, since Mr. Meade's proposal is intermittent, its operation depending upon the period of the trade cycle, while Major Douglas's is in permanent operation, owing to an "inherent flow" in the economic system, which cannot be defended by any means.

Mr. Meade's book deserves the earnest consideration of students of social problems, with the reservation that either his earlier book, or Mr. Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* should be studied first so that the theoretical background of his proposals may be appreciated.

G. v. L.

Dear Sir . . .

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

WHEN I read Mr. Beeton's letter (April 9 issue) on ARP I heaved a sigh of relief. Here, at last, is a fellow-heretic!

I have never been able to regard pacifism as a purely negative thing. It is surely not enough passively to refuse to inflict suffering; one must seek actively to minimize it as far as one can. And the fact that the present attempts to minimize the effects of air raids are, admittedly, very ineffective and inadequate does not, in my opinion, absolve anyone from the responsibility of making what use one can of them. If the money spent on rearmament had been spent instead on ARP, what do you think the effect would have been?

Personally, I would go further, and suggest that pacifists should indulge in ARP to the nth degree, in order to show the Government just where we think their rearmament programme is likely to lead.

I do not, of course, expect you to approve this view, but will you please give me an alternative?

J. MESSENGER.
The Hut, Hillborough Road,
Herne Bay.

If ARP were really intended to become in time nothing but extended national first aid or an efficient civilian non-combatant red cross service, and nothing but that, then, far from opposing it, it could be supported. It does not claim to be anything but a "precautionary" service. It is reasonable to question how far the authorities are sincere and trustworthy in this intention.

If enrolment in ARP could carry with it an absolute and irrevocable exemption from combatant service of any kind, at home or overseas, no adequate grounds for opposition to it seem to remain.

The official reply to hesitating people, published in the press on April 11* is too vague to be reassuring on this point.

H. A. GIERS.
51, Tierney Road,
Streatham Hill, S.W.2.

* Responsible duty in the country's air raid precautions service will, in the event of war, be considered as important as active service in the army, navy or air force.

If we as pacifists oppose ARP we may reasonably be asked whether we oppose or disapprove of the Government's proposed purchase of this year's English

wheat harvest in order to store it for a time of "national emergency." This is a precaution against possible war. Would the pacifist farmer (if there are any) prevent, if he could, his harvest being so stored? And if not, why not?

After listening to many pacifist speeches on ARP, I am forced to the conclusion that the speakers rather invalidate their cause by using too many arguments, some of which develop from conflicting premises.

They apparently oppose ARP

- (a) because they are inadequate.
- (b) because they aim at preventing panic rather than protecting life.
- (c) because they will regiment the nation.
- (d) because they are preparation against a possible enemy and the pacifist has no enemy.

It seems to me that (d) is really the only suitable argument for the pacifist to adopt. But its adoption will lead him into difficulties.

K. ARNOLD PRICE.
Croft House, Epsom.

One point in Philip Mumford's article in last week's PEACE NEWS cannot be too strongly emphasized—that in our opposition to ARP we are not concerned with the inefficiency or otherwise of the various "measures."

I am constantly surprised, in noticing reasons given for refusal to participate in ARP activity, by the fact that we quite lose sight of the first and most important consideration: the universally acknowledged right of civilians to immunity from attack even in warfare. However much is written about "atrocities," this right is still more widely honoured than denied, and I want to accuse the Government (and the Opposition) and all who engage in "defence organization," with deliberately endangering my home and property by destroying my claim to a civilian's immunity.

A person possessing means of defence can no longer claim to be a civilian and so becomes a legitimate object for attack.

It seems to me this view of the case is correct according to international law, and gives us real reason for objecting to the defence activities of our friends.

An old wise saying might be rewritten: "They that take to gas masks and warplanes must expect to be bombed and poisoned."

P. GWYNNE DAVIES.
Abergele Road,
Old Colwyn.

LABOUR PEACE POLICY

On Easter Sunday I attended two very different meetings and yet (to me) the speeches at both meetings had a surprising similarity.

In the afternoon I had the privilege of joining the "Canterbury Pilgrims" at the burial place of Dick Sheppard and afterward attended the meeting at Dane John.

In the evening I was present at a meeting of the Labour Party at Margate where most of the speakers were of the Left Wing of the Labour Party, the chief speaker being Sir Stafford Cripps.

Toward the end of his speech an interrupter suggested that big armaments were the best security for peace. After proving conclusively that on the contrary arms made for war, he went on to outline a peace policy that was practically word for word what I had heard in the afternoon from the bandstand at Dane John, viz., that we must change our foreign policy to one that puts international justice and economic cooperation to the forefront.

What I should like to know (I am not a member of the Labour Party) is if this is now the general policy of the Labour Party (it could not have been when they supported the Government's armament programme) or the personal convictions of a few hundred individual members? If it is the latter, then it is up to the Parliamentary Pacifist Party or the PPU to rope them in.

WALLACE GREENGRASS,
Margate.

TOLSTOY AND PEACE

I thought the following extracts from Tolstoy's book *Resurrection* might be of interest to readers of PEACE NEWS:—

The Sermon on the Mount is not beautiful abstract thoughts setting forth for the most part exaggerated and impossible demands; but simple, clear, practical laws, which, if carried out in practice (and this is quite possible), would establish perfectly new and surprising conditions of social life, in which violence would not only cease of itself, but the greatest blessing attainable by men—the Kingdom of Heaven on earth would be reached.

There were five of these laws.

The first law (Matthew 5, verses 21-26), that man should not only not kill, but should not even be angry with his brother . . .

The fourth law was (Matthew 5, verses 21-26) that man should not only not demand an eye for an eye, but when struck on one cheek should offer the other; should forgive an injury and bear it humbly, and never refuse anyone a service desired of him.

The fifth law was (Matthew 5, verses 43-48) that man should not only not kill his enemies nor fight them, but love them, help them, serve them . . .

The sole duty of every man is to fulfil these laws that in this lies the only reasonable meaning of life and that every deviation from these laws is a mistake which is immediately followed by retribution.

This may help some of those Christians who say "but isn't there such a thing as a just war under some circumstances," isn't this the answer?

F. R. HAMLEY (Peckham Group).
8 Dunstons Road, S.E.22.

Vaccination

IAN KEITH MACKAY'S idea of using education to combat war (as outlined in his essay, from which is quoted extracts, in your March 26 issue) is good. But if the object of the education is really analogous to the so-called advantages of vaccination, as he suggests, then it is a poor specimen of peace for which he would educate us.

For vaccination does not prevent smallpox or render it milder if contracted. More young children die from vaccination than from smallpox, according to the Registrar-General's returns.

Incidentally, inoculation against smallpox is not universal—far less than half of the children born in this country are vaccinated. Moreover, vaccination seeks to avoid the penalties of lack of sanitation and hygiene by torturing animals.

R. MCINTYRE SMITH.

93, Briarwood Road,
Stoneleigh, Epsom,
Surrey.

Vaccination has been opposed and the opposition has much cause for congratulation on the exposure of its fallacies and the disadvantages of its acceptance. Smallpox was not conquered by vaccination but by education along sanitary lines.

E. V. ROGERS.
47, Drayton Gardens, W.13.

"REARMAMENT DEBUNKED"

Let me assure Mr. Joyce that I fully appreciate his entire argument in *Rearmament Debunked*. But while he can justifiably plead the compression imposed by the brevity of his booklet, even more must I plead the restrictions of a 300-word review.

Within such a space limit I could scarcely have done justice to the point at issue while at the same time attempting to convey a balanced commentary on the author's thesis as a whole. Mr. Joyce does not waste words, but, as will be seen, his letter elucidating this "by-path" alone inevitably occupies more space than was at my disposal for the entire review.

Obviously the world's armaments will not be abolished overnight, and any half-way, or even quarter-way, house might be a welcome move in the right direction. Further, as evidence of my own belief in trying to cooperate for constructive peace, I may mention that at this very time, I am serving on a joint committee of the PPU and the LNU.

Still, there may be, I suggest, a division of function between peace movements, implying, for instance, that the PPU can only cooperate effectively with more compromising movements so long as it fulfils its own function of affirming and representing an uncompromising abandonment of lethal violence.

It is, I submit, necessary that some movement should constitute the extreme vanguard of pacifism in this respect, and the PPU could not compromise itself on this point without crippling any real contribution it might otherwise make to the collective effort. The closing sentence of my review was, therefore, a very condensed indication of what I conceive to be PEACE NEWS policy in this connexion.

May I take this opportunity to disavow that "feminine touch" which Mr. Joyce apparently detected either in my style or in my name.

DION BYNGHAM.

7, Warwick Road,
Earls Court, S.W.5.

Ends and Means

IS it justifiable to do evil that good may come of it? Some reply, "What are good and evil? How, in such a confusing world, can one distinguish between good and evil actions except by their results? And undoubtedly good is often the result of so-called evil."

I think there are three points in particular which we pacifists might stress when non-pacifists confront us with this problem, and declare that in refusing to support or take part in war we are coddling our own consciences at the community's expense.

1. Any calamity may have some good results; but that doesn't mean it is not a calamity. A famine or an epidemic calls for courage, comradeship, hard work, and hard thinking.

2. There are always more ways than one of achieving an end. Military training may bring about physical fitness; but so may ordinary physical training, or better food and housing. The courage and self-sacrifice of the soldier could be more usefully called forth in civilian life.

A country's freedom and welfare could be protected by goodwill, a peaceful spirit, and passive resistance to aggression, more successfully than by armed force. Pacifism is not non-resistance: it is a method of combating evil, not by violence, which merely intensifies the evil, but by the mighty forces of good.

3. The material benefit obtained by wrong means is outweighed by the spiritual harm done. When we do wrong through ignorance or lack of a high moral standard, we do not offend against the light as we see it. When we do wrong through weakness, we recognize it as wrong and still keep a true sense of values. But when we do wrong deliberately we set evil up on the altar and worship it.

MARJORIE FLEMING.

28, Howish Road,
Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

AIR ATTACK

May I point out, in fairness to the author, that the three paragraphs from *Air Attack on Cities*, quoted near the end of my review of the book in last week's issue, were entirely separate, being chosen from different chapters.

The second of these paragraphs contained a very excusable misprint. Mr. Muirhead wrote that "the value of reinforced concrete walls is high" because they were reduced to powder by explosions in the vicinity. The review reads "The value . . . is not high." It was indeed this very attitude of Mr. Muirhead's that led me to describe the effect of the book as something between nightmare and farce.

ROY WALKER.

BRISTOL CONGRESS

I should be grateful if you would give me space in which to direct the attention of members of the Peace Pledge Union and readers of PEACE NEWS generally to the forthcoming meetings of the National Peace Congress to be held at Bristol from May 27 to 29. Copies of the printed congress notice with an application form for delegates will be reaching PPU groups, with the cooperation of the Union's headquarters, shortly.

It is obviously of special importance that this year's congress should be fully supported and that the pacifist section of the movement should be adequately represented. The congress will discuss all current aspects of the peace problem, but the central theme will be "Peace in relation to the social needs of the peoples" and, clearly, pacifist groups will have a special contribution to make

(Continued on page 14, col. 1)

CHRISTIANITY AS A MYSTICAL FACT

7s. 6d. net.

In this book, which has gone through several German editions, the word mysticism is used in the sense of the representation of a spiritual fact which can only be recognized in its true nature when the knowledge of it is derived from the source of spiritual life itself. By "mystical" the author does not imply a conception relying more on vague feelings than on strictly scientific statements. Students of Rudolf Steiner's *Philosophy of Spiritual Activity* are bound to recognize his scientific and logical mind, and his writings are an encouragement to those who still believe in the main truths and nature of Christianity.

A list of the other works of this great thinker free on request to:

RUDOLF STEINER PUBLISHING CO.

54, BLOOMSBURY STREET, W.C.1

Telephone: MUSEUM 0293.

(Continued from page 13, col. 4).
to these discussions. Canon Stuart Morris, the Rev. Henry Carter, Canon C. E. Raven, and other prominent pacifists will be taking part.

Local organizations of all kinds are entitled to appoint delegates and no limit is fixed to the number that they may send. In addition, individuals are welcomed as visitors. Hospitality will be available for those who require it. Further particulars and copies of the Congress notice can be obtained from the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

GERALD BAILEY,
Directing Secretary.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

The National Association of Labour Teachers invites all those teachers who support the cause of democracy against the encroachments of fascism, and who desire peace and better conditions for the training of a new generation, to meet on May 1 on the Embankment (Temple Station), London, at 2 p.m., and to walk under their banners in the May Day demonstration.

Those who are interested please communicate with Miss E. V. Hill, 84, Pepys Road, New Cross, S.E.14.

L. MATHISON,
E. V. HILL,
L. MORRIS,
May Day Organizing Committee,
London Branch.



A picture taken during the play which was received so enthusiastically in Carlisle.

Drama

History Proved Interesting

The Ninety-first Psalm, Beatrice Saxon Snell's play, founded on an incident recorded in the diary of Thomas Chakeley showing the attitude of the Quaker settlers in New England in contrast to the attitude of the armed force of the time (the native Indian of New Jersey in the year 1704), was produced by the drama section of the Carlisle group of the Peace Pledge Union recently.

This was the first play to be presented by this group, and the reception with which it was greeted has convinced members of the value of such activity.

Scenery and stage props were made by members of the cast, and the lighting was also in the hands of a group member. Costumes were lent by the authoress.

As an outcome of the play, three young people signed the peace pledge, while another member of the audience offered to have all future local meetings of the PPU advertised in the local press.

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LATEST TIME FOR COPY TUESDAY MORNING

DRAMATIC

DO YOU live in North London? If so, come to Springfield Hall, Springfield Road, NEW SOUTHGATE, on Saturday, April 23 (8.15 p.m.), for a dramatic evening. New Southgate Pax Players present *Aftermath, The Last Rib, and And So to War*. Also, Madame, Elsie Wood and the Windyridge Ladies' Choir. Admission by ticket—1s. and 1s. 6d. (reserved)—from 59, Waterfall Road, N.11.

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TUESDAY

PARS for the PLATFORM

We Didn't Say It

MUSSOLINI wrote in *Popolo D'Italia* on March 5:—

In one way or another, in disclosing before the eyes of Europe the ferocity of its courts, in showing us the true face of Russian Bolshevism, in the mass killing of his enemies whom he has declared to be powerless, Stalin has rendered a considerable service to fascism.

Who Pays?

ANSWERING the question, "Who foots the armaments bill?" John Hamilton writes in the *Socialist Vanguard*:

The "national effort" of rearmament began in 1935/6. To obtain an idea of its consequences we can compare the years 1936 and 1937 with 1934, when business activity had nearly reached its pre-slump level.

During this time the national income has risen from £4,200 million in 1934 to £4,900 million in 1936 and approximately £5,200 million in 1937. A part of this increase has gone into the pockets of the workers: 12 percent more was paid out in wages in 1936 than in 1934, partly owing to a 7½ percent increase in the number of employed workers. (The figures for 1937 are not yet available.)

During the same period the income from profits, interest, and rent has risen by 30 percent. The *Economist* index of profits has risen by 54 percent between 1934 and 1937. The capitalists have not only had the advantage of deriving profits from a greater output; they also increased their profit on every unit of that output.

In 1934 a manufacturer selling a commodity at £100 would have paid out £40 for labour and received £25 as profit. In the first quarter of 1937 £34 was paid for labour and £29 received as profit. The workers' share of the total product has fallen, the capitalists' share has gone up.

Increased duties were placed not only on tea, but also on other foodstuffs. Taxes on food yielded some £20 million in 1936/7; and it must be remembered that they not only raise the price of imports, but also enable home producers to raise their prices.

An increase of the amount of money in circulation, amounting to 28 percent between January, 1934, and January, 1938, has accentuated the rise in the cost of living. The outcome of this policy was the quiet wage reduction by which the workers have been deprived of a large part of what little the boom has meant for them. The net benefit accrued to the government and to private capitalism. The amount taken by the State from private capitalists did not increase as rapidly as their profits, and on the main part of their contribution, the Defence Loan, they are even paid interest by the State.

Let Labour Beware

THE above facts alone should convince parties claiming to watch the workers' interests that rearmament must be opposed. As Emrys Hughes wrote in *Forward* on March 19:

War will find no solution for any problem but will create a hundred new ones.

For the working classes there is nothing worse than war. War is the final lunacy; the final abomination. So let the Labour Party beware lest it be deluded by the old falsehoods.

Its duty to the British people is to set its face resolutely against any support of war.

Bad for Trade

AT the annual meeting of the Wigan Coal and Iron Company on March 29 Lord Crawford said that armaments would not do any further good from a commercial point of view. They were always followed by crushing and continuous taxation. The nervousness and alarm which arose from the world situation were in themselves an impediment to the legitimate growth of productive business.

EDUCATIONAL

ESPERANTO.—Beginners' five-lesson postal course, 1s. Exercises corrected by experts. —British Esperanto Association (Inc.), Dept. P.N., 142, High Holborn, London, W.C.1.

WE BUILD for Peace—May we send a prospectus:—Felcourt School, East Grinstead, Sussex.

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MISS J. D. WALLINGTON, health practitioner, osteopath, bonesetter, treats all conditions of ill-health by natural methods; particularly successful with nerve and digestive cases. Consultations by appointment. 1 Ashley Place, S.W.1 (Victoria 0131), and 2 Norton Way North, Letchworth. (Letchworth 885.)

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MEETINGS, &c.

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INCOME TAX.—Do you pay too much? Refer your queries to—"Accountant," 6 Steele Road, London, N.17.

SERVICES

AS PLANNED BY DICK SHEPPARD. Celebrations of the Holy Communion take place in the Crypt of St. Paul's every Wednesday at 7.45 a.m., when prayers are offered for the renunciation of war and for those engaged in the peace movement.

SITUATIONS WANTED

EXPERT SHORTHAND-TYPIST, 7 years' experience. Speeds 120–70, German conversation, own correspondence, dictaphone, seeks post in London and/or part-time abroad. Member of PPU.—Margaret Hodenberg, 35 Cleveland Terrace, London, W.2.

PUBLIC SCHOOL BOY, 30, resigned mobile police—avoiding ARP—urgently requires job. Expert driver-mechanic. Life-saving and first-aid awards. Try anything.—Box 78, PEACE NEWS, 17, Featherstone Buildings, W.C.1.

QUALIFIED MUSICIAN, A.R.C.M., L.R.A.M., accompanist, seeks London post. Matriculation, secretarial experience, journalistic training. Own typewriter. Member of PPU. Excellent testimonials.—Diana Tyndall, 35 Cleveland Terrace, London, W.2.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House, Alt. 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; h. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

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DIARY OF THE WEEK

April

23 (Sat.) SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. City Hall, Baker's Pool; Pacifist Convention; James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, C. H. Wilson, H. G. McGhee, Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Rose Simpson, and Richard C. Wood; Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

BAYSWATER: 3 p.m. 52a Queen's Way; opening of Dick Sheppard Centre; PPU. PENZANCE: 7.30 p.m. St. John's Hall; Canon Stuart Morris, Dr. Donald Soper, and Arthur Pearce Jenkin (chairman); PPU.

CAMBERWELL: 8 p.m. Salvation Army Camberwell Citadel, Lomond Grove, near Camberwell Green; Peace Pageant—see back page.

UXBRIDGE: 8 p.m. Central Hall; open air meeting; PPU Speakers.

NEW SOUTHGATE: 8.15 p.m. Springfield Hall, Springfield Road; dramatic evening; *Aftermath, The Last Rib, and And So to War*; New Southgate Pax Players; see Classified Advertisement.

21 (Sun.) CAMBERWELL: 3 p.m. Salvation Army Camberwell Citadel, Lomond Grove, near Camberwell Green; "Christ and Peace"—see back page.

LINCOLN: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Street; Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Mary Gamble (chairman); for PPU members only.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Whitfield's Men's Meeting; Tottenham Court Road; Miss N. Stewart Parnell.

LINCOLN: 8 p.m. Wesley Chapel, Clasketgate; Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Mary Gamble, and Theodore Burt (chairman); PPU.

25 (Mon.) LEWES: 8 p.m. Corn Exchange; debate on ARP; Roy Walker, Frank Hancock, Col. Powell Edwards, and Capt. Walter Styles; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Rev. Paul Levertoff (chairman), The Bishop of Chelmsford, Dr. John Lewis, W. Jacobs, and Isabel Brown; on behalf of Austrian Refugees.

STEPNEY: 8.15 p.m. East End Mission, opposite Troxy Cinema, Commercial Road (entrance Bromley Street); George Lansbury, Father Andrew, and Rev. Percy Ineson (chairman).

25–30 (Mon.—Sat.) SOUTH MOLTON; Peace Shop; PPU.

26 (Tues.) LONDON, E.C.4: 5 p.m. City Temple; third annual meeting; Rev. A. H. Hawkins on "Peace in Relation to the Social Order"; Baptist Pacifist Fellowship. LONDON, W.C.1: 5.45 p.m. Guy Pearce Restaurant, High Holborn; A. C. Scott on "The Value of Friendship; British Phrenological Society.

NUNEATON: 7.30 p.m. Manor Court Baptist School, Manor Court Road; Dr. Herbert Gray, Miss Mary Gamble, and Rev. F. W. Moyle (chairman); PPU.

BROCKLEY: 7.45 p.m. Baptist Church Hall, Rokeby Road; annual general meeting; Brockley, New Cross, and Deptford groups; John Barclay; PPU.

WEST NORWOOD: 8 p.m. Room 4, St. Luke's Church Hall; Stephen Noel. PPU. EDMONTON: 8.30 p.m. Labour Rooms, 272 Fore Street; Nigel Spottiswoode; Labour Party.

27 (Wed.) WATFORD: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Derby Road; Rev. J. Trevor Davies on "Why are we Pacifists?"; Leslie Bearock (chairman); PPU.

HARROW: 8 p.m. Wealdstone Labour Hall; William Gray on "The PPU Manifesto"; PPU.

KINGSWAY: 8 p.m. Wild Court; open air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

SOUTHALL: 8 p.m. 43 Beaconsfield Road; Roy Walker; PPU.

WESTMINSTER: 8.30 p.m. Victoria Methodist Hall, 194 Vauxhall Bridge Road; W. S. Kennedy; PPU.

28 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Dr. Har Dayal on "Pacifism and World Citizenship" City PPU group.

LONDON E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; continuation of discussion on Non-Violence; City PPU group.

ABERDEEN: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; W. Linning; PPU.

BALHAM: 8 p.m. Trevena Hall, Boudaries Road; Roy Walker on "Air Raid Precautions"; PPU.

NORTHAMPTON: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; discussion on Political Action by Pacifists; W. L. Williams; PPU.

WANDSWORTH: 8.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 59 High Street; Roy Walker on "The Individual and Group Activities"; PPU.

29 (Fri.) ERDINGTON: 8 p.m. Abbey Hall; film show of *Kameradschaft* and shorts; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 8 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Road; literary and musical evening on behalf of Spanish war victims; tickets from 21 Frith Street, W.1.

30 (Sat.) MANCHESTER: 2 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; annual general meeting; Manchester and District PPU.

MANCHESTER: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; John Barclay; 6 p.m. discussion on PPU Politics and Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*; PPU. Details from H. Leslie Kirkley, 41 Dalton Street, Manchester, 2.

LONDON W.C.1: 7.15 p.m. London Welsh Association Hall, Gray's Inn Road; Rev. Phyllis Webber on "The Necessity of Pacifism"; Rev. Alan Balding (chairman); For.

30—May 1 (Sat.—Sun.) CRICH, near Matlock; "The Briars" Guest House; area committee meeting and weekend school; 8 p.m. (Sat.) Dr. Leighton Yates on "The Fallacy of ARP"; 11 a.m. (Sun.) Roy Walker on "Ways and Means of conducting anti-ARP propaganda"; particulars from Guy Metcalf, Main Road, Easton-on-the-Hill, Stanfold.

MAIN POINTS OF THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

Assurances Given to Egypt

The Anglo-Italian Agreement signed in Rome on Saturday by Lord Perth, British Ambassador in Rome, and Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, consisted of a Protocol and eight Annexes. In addition there was an exchange of Notes between the two signatories, regarding Libya, Spain, and Abyssinia.

There was concluded at the same time a Bon Voisinage Agreement between the British, Egyptian, and Italian Governments, supplemented by letters to the Egyptian Minister in Rome conveying certain assurances.

Summaries of all these documents are given below.

Terms of the Protocol

AFTER listing the subjects dealt with in the Annexes, the Protocol says that the latter

shall take effect on such date as the two Governments shall together determine. Except in so far as any of them contain provisions with regard to their revision or duration, each of the said instruments shall remain in force indefinitely, but should either Government at any time consider that a change of circumstances renders the revision of any of these instruments necessary, the two Governments will consult together with a view to such a revision.

Further, the signatories agree that negotiations shall be opened in which the Egyptian Government shall be invited to participate so far as all questions affecting Egypt or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan are concerned.

What the Agreement Says

FOLLOWING are points from the Annexes which constitute the main part of the Agreement itself:

ANNEX 1

Mediterranean.—The Governments reaffirm the declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean, and of the Notes exchanged on December 31, 1936, regarding the status quo in the Western Mediterranean.

ANNEX 2

Exchange of Military Information.—The Governments agree to exchange information "regarding any major prospective administrative movements or redistribution of their respective naval, military, and air forces," stationed in or based on certain territories abroad.

ANNEX 3

Middle East.—Articles 1 to 3 affirm the desirability of maintaining the independence and integrity of Saudi Arabia and of the Yemen.

Article 4 affirms that, as regards those islands in the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article 16 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923, and which are not comprised in the territory of Saudi Arabia or of the Yemen, neither Britain nor Italy will establish its sovereignty or erect fortifications or defences.

Article 5 declares that should any conflict break out between Saudi Arabia and the Yemen, or within those States, Britain and Italy will not intervene, and recognizes that it is in the interest of both of them that no other Power should intervene.

Article 6 concerns the zone of Arabia to the east and south of the present boundaries of Saudi Arabia and of the Yemen (or of future boundaries agreed upon.) It declares that within the territories of Arab rulers under its protection in this zone, Britain

(a) Will take no action which would prejudice the independence of Saudi Arabia and the Yemen;

(b) Will undertake no military preparations or works other than those of a purely defensive character (including defence of Empire communications), nor enrol the inhabitants other than for forces designed for preservation of order and for local defence;

(c) Intends to maintain the autonomy of Arab rulers under its protection.

The Italian Government declares that it "will not seek to acquire any political influence in this zone."

Article 7 defines Italian freedom of entry, trade, &c., in the Protectorate of Aden.

Article 8 provides (a) for negotiations for revision or amendment of the agreement should either party notify the other that it considers circumstances

have changed, and (b) that after ten years either party may notify the other of its intention to terminate the Agreement, such notification to take effect three months after the date on which it is made.

ANNEX 4

Propaganda.—The Governments agree "that any attempt by either of them to employ the methods of publicity or propaganda at its disposal in order to injure the interests of the other would be inconsistent with the good relations" which the Agreement is designed to establish and maintain.

ANNEX 5

Lake Tsana.—The Italian Government confirms that it was "fully conscious of its obligations" toward the British Government, and "had no intention whatever of overlooking or repudiating them."

ANNEX 6

Military duties of natives of Italian East Africa.—The Italian Government reaffirms its willingness to accept the principle that these natives should not be compelled to undertake military duties other than local policing and territorial defence.

ANNEX 7

British religious bodies in Italian East Africa.—The Italian Government declares its intention to "assure to British nationals in British East Africa the free exercise of all cults compatible with public order and good morality," and outlines its policy regarding activities of British religious bodies in humanitarian and benevolent spheres.

ANNEX 8

Suez Canal.—Both Governments reaffirm their intention "always to respect and abide by the provisions of the Convention signed at Constantinople on October 29, 1888, which guarantees at all times and for all Powers the free use of the Suez Canal."

The Exchange of Notes

NOTES exchanged between Count Ciano and Lord Perth dealt with the following points:—

Troops in Libya.—"Withdrawals have already begun at the rate of 1,000 a week and will be continued at not less than this rate until the Italian Libyan effectives reach peace strength. This will constitute an ultimate diminution of these effectives by not less than half the numbers present in Libya when our conversations commenced."

Volunteers in Spain.—Count Ciano reaffirmed the following assurances, given during the recent conversations:

(a) The Italian Government adheres fully to the British formula for the proportional evacuation of foreign volunteers from Spain, and pledges itself "to give practical and real application to such an evacuation at the moment and on the conditions which shall be determined by the Non-Intervention Committee on the basis of the above-mentioned formula."

(b) "If this evacuation has not been completed at the moment of the termination of the Spanish civil war all remaining Italian volunteers will forthwith leave Spanish territory and all Italian war material will simultaneously be withdrawn."

(c) "The Italian Government has no territorial or political aims, and seeks no privileged economic position in or with regard to either Metropolitan Spain, the Balearic Islands, any of the Spanish possessions overseas, or the Spanish zone of Morocco," and has "no intention whatever of keeping any armed forces in any of the said territories."

Abyssinia.—Acknowledging the Note just quoted, Lord Perth recalled that the British Government "regards a settlement of the Spanish question as a prerequisite of the entry into force of the Agreement between our two Governments." Lord Perth added that, "being

desirous that such obstacles as may at present be held to impede the freedom of member States as regards recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia should be removed," the British Government intends to take steps at the forthcoming meeting of the League Council for the purpose of clarifying the situation of member States.

London Naval Treaty.—The Italian Government has decided to accede to the London Naval Treaty, 1936, as soon as the Annexes come into force. In the meantime, the Italian Government intends to act in conformity with the provisions of that treaty.

The "Good Neighbour" Agreement

THE Bon Voisinage Agreement was signed between the Italian Government, the British Government (in respect of Kenya and British Somaliland, and the British and Egyptian Governments (in respect of the Sudan).

In addition to proceeding in due course to the discussion of detailed questions connected with the frontiers between Italian East Africa and the Sudan, Kenya, and British Somaliland, they undertake at all times to cooperate for the preservation of good neighbourly relations between the said territories and to endeavour to prevent raids or other unlawful acts of violence being carried out across the frontiers of any of the territories named.

The good neighbourly relations referred to are to include "cooperation to prevent the evasion of the anti-slavery laws of the various territories."

ASSURANCES TO EGYPT

Letters from Count Ciano and Lord Perth to the Egyptian Minister in Rome explained that the assurances given to the British Government (in Annex 5 above) regarding Lake Tsana, applied equally to the Egyptian Government.

Further letters to the Egyptian Minister conveyed the declaration concerning the Suez Canal contained in Annex 8. In his reply, the Egyptian Minister declared that his Government, as the territorial Power concerned, associated itself with the intentions of the British and Italian Governments.

What Other Nations Think

SO far as generalization is at all possible, it may be said that the Anglo-Italian Agreement has been welcomed by Right-wing elements at home and abroad and, more emphatically, repudiated by the Left wing.

The following reactions, however, are particularly interesting:

Japan.—Officials and the press remained silent. "So far as the Far East is concerned," reported *The Times*, "the Mediterranean détente virtually reduces the tripartite Anti-Comintern Pact to its original scope as a German-Japanese understanding directed against the Soviet."

Germany.—The understanding was warmly welcomed, but in a manner which recalled Italy's own attitude to Germany's recent coup in Austria.

France.—A general welcome—except from the Left-wing. There was an immediate French move in Rome this week for similar negotiations with Italy.

U.S.A.—The agreement had been fully expected, but a friendly reception was allied to an attitude of reserve, due to the strained European situation. The possible recognition by Britain of the conquest of Abyssinia affects American policy, particularly the Neutrality Law.

Pilgrimage to Canterbury

PACIFISTS PAY HOMAGE TO DICK SHEPPARD

From Our Own Correspondent

MEMBERS of the Peace Pledge Union from Birmingham, Northampton, London, and the Home Counties, numbering over fifty, met at Canterbury on Sunday and visited Dick Sheppard's grave in the Cloisters of the Cathedral.

This was the climax to the Canterbury Pilgrimage which had started on Good Friday when 35 members met at Lenham and walked across the hills to Ashford, where they spent the night. On Saturday morning they walked from Ashford to Canterbury, and the following morning visits were paid to PPU signatories in Canterbury, all lunching together at Kent College.

The visit to Dick Sheppard's resting place was followed by a poster parade when the whole party went through the town to Dane John where a meeting was held in the bandstand, addressed by Kenneth Wray (Hastings), Miss Morrison (Blackheath), Kenneth Lee (Golders Green), and John Barclay.

The procession then returned through the town to the Friends' Meeting House, and the night was spent at Kent College. The party walked back to Faversham on Monday, returning home from there by train.

All the arrangements at Ashford were made by the local group of the PPU, under the leadership of Mr. L. S. Pitt, who was presented with Aldous Huxley's book *Ends and Means*, as a token of appreciation of all his work.

NON-MEMBER'S IMPRESSION

A non-member of the PPU who accompanied the party, writes:—

It must have been gratifying to run so short of copies of your paper toward the end of the hike. I was greatly impressed by the readiness with which volunteers came forward whenever it was a question of canvassing in support of the public meeting or of selling PEACE NEWS. It was interesting, too, to see how thoroughly the party enjoyed those four days, while never losing any opportunity of presenting its case to the public.

With the exception of young David, the mascot, whose views were not expressed, every member of the party was ready and willing to supply a reasoned argument in support of his membership of the PPU. I heard none of the mechanical claptrap that one might expect from a political party. That is a healthy sign.

It seems to me, as an outsider, however, that a different line of approach must be adopted before a really popular pacifist movement can be brought into existence. It is a sad thought that England thinks through its feet, but I am convinced that your membership would go up in leaps and bounds if you had a Pacifist Football Club. "Mr. Hackney" was heard to express his love of the game, and if your movement numbers many stalwarts of the "Ivor" type (he swam on Easter Monday and has witnesses to prove it!), a presentable team might well be organized.

I hope you will find a corner in which to express my admiration for Mr. Roach's enterprise and my appreciation of the friendly hospitality of his fellow pilgrims.

COOPERATORS' ATTITUDE TO WAR

An amendment to a resolution submitted by the National Committee of the Cooperative Party approving the party's peace policy adopted last year, was moved by the Nelson branch at last Saturday's session of the Brighton conference of the Cooperative Party.

The amendment urged that cooperators should give no support to any Government which required them to make war on fellow cooperators, and directed the Executive Committee to reshape the policy of the party accordingly.

The resolution was ultimately carried.

N.Z. AND BRITISH POLICY

The question of relationships between the New Zealand and British Governments was discussed in the House of Commons last week. Mr. Dalton gave notice that he would again raise this question after the Easter recess.

The Dominions Secretary was asked by Mr. Dalton whether it was true that the New Zealand Government had been at all times in full agreement with the foreign policy of the British Government.

"I never made any such statement," said Mr. MacDonald.

PEACE NEWS

April 23, 1938

PACIFIST PLAY IN LONDON

Idiot's Delight. Apollo

IDIOT'S DELIGHT, by Robert Sherwood, has been playing to a full house at the Apollo, since March. The author has by no means sacrificed a sense of the theatre for the sake of propaganda, but has forcibly put the pacifist view.

Idiot's Delight is thoroughly good entertainment because, although the play is essentially tragic, there is also plenty of humorous incident, movement and excitement. The scene of the play is a hotel on a mountain peak on the Continent of Europe. The action takes place in any imminent year.

It is rumoured that Europe, perhaps the whole world, is about to break into a war of appalling magnitude. The characters are an odd assortment of travellers visiting the hotel compulsorily while their passports are being visaed before they can return to their home countries.

The chief of these are Harry Vann (played by Raymond Massey) a tap dancer and his troupe of six blondes, who have been touring the Balkans; Achille Weber, an armaments manufacturer and profiteer, acted by Hugh Miller with quiet strength, and his mistress, Irene, a mysterious Russian aristocrat. Tamara Giva is good in this part and improves as the play rises to a climax. There are also a French pacifist called Quillery, acted superbly by Carl Jaffé, and a professor who is discovering a cure for cancer.

IN DANGER ZONE

The hotel is situated dangerously near to an aerodrome and occasionally practice sirens go off and the alarmed visitors are calmed by the manager of the hotel.

The feeling of strain is increased by this and by the fact that eighteen bombers leave the aerodrome and only eight return. After this incident Irene gives Achille Weber an illuminating flash of her imagination by describing to him in gruesome detail the probable effect of the dropping of his bombs.

Quillery, the pacifist, attacks everyone for their detachment while the world is on the point of falling round their ears.

In spite of the growing tension Harry Vann and his blondes give a lively impromptu entertainment.

Into the middle of this bursts Quillery. He curses the few men who have returned alive from the bombing of Paris and are watching the entertainment. They immediately threaten to arrest him and he shouts: "That's the last gesture left to you toy soldiers." He is at once taken away and shot.

KILL, NOT CURE

Later the professor is allowed to leave and returns in despair to Germany to use his scientific knowledge for killing instead of curing. Harry Vann and his troupe are given permission to leave. Achille Weber's passport is also in order, but not Irene's, and as a merciless revenge for her truthful outburst the night before, he refuses to vouch for it.

So she is left alone to face certain death as it is known there will be drastic reprisals for the bombs rained on Paris. Harry Vann, hearing of this, tries to help her and discovers she is a woman with whom he had an "affair" years ago in Omaha. They find they still care for each other and decide to face death together.

The sound of approaching aeroplanes is heard and the staff of the hotel rush for the cellar. But Harry and Irene stay behind together.

They sit down at the hotel piano and with faces of terror start singing the hymn: "Onward, Christian Soldiers" at the top of their voices while bombs crash round them.

It is encouraging that such a play should pass the censor at such a time and it is still more encouraging to see a pacifist play acted and produced with such skill and finish.

ANN WILLATT.



A peace shop in Newton Abbot—just one of the many ways in which the Peace Pledge Union is making itself known in Devonshire.

Christian Pacifist Party Lays Election Plans

From Our Own Correspondent

THE executive committee of the Christian Pacifist Party recently unanimously carried a resolution inviting the Rev. H. Lagli James to consider standing as a parliamentary candidate.

Mr. James promised to do this, and added: "We are anxious to contest an election as soon as possible. But to that end we need two things.

"We need money and, what is equally important, we must have a nucleus of members in the division where we make our first appearance."

The party now has 140 members—an increase of sixteen since February 1.

The Coventry branch meets weekly and has also started open-air meetings. The London branch has met twice during the past two months, while a branch in Swansea meets weekly.

There are prospects of branches being formed at Holyhead and Northampton. In addition, useful pioneering work is being done in Birmingham and Liverpool and contacts are being made in Derby, Warrington, Lymington (Hampshire), Cardiff, and Blaina (Monmouthshire).

MANIFESTO TO THE NATION

Members of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship and the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship are being circularized. A pamphlet, *Is a Pacifist Political Party Necessary?* is to be published at once, and a manifesto to the nation will be printed next week.

Since February the party's general secretary has put the case for political action to groups in Southsea, London, Birmingham, and Nottingham.

Salvation Army Peace Pageant

A peace pageant will be produced at the Camberwell Citadel of the Salvation Army, Lomond Grove, near Camberwell Green, at 8 o'clock this evening, and an address will be given by the Rev. R. W. Sorensen, MP. Admission is 6d. and 1s.

At 3 p.m. tomorrow (Sunday), the Camberwell Citadel will be the scene of a big public meeting on "Christ and Peace," presided over by Mr. George Lansbury. Mr. Hugh Redwood, of the *News Chronicle*, will be another speaker.

How can a man be said to have a country when he has no right to a square inch of soil.—Henry George—*Social Problems*.

QUITE IMPOSSIBLE

The man who had the idea of pneumatic tyres was derided by the Patent Office officials as "the fool who would ride on air." His plan was considered to be quite impossible.

So it has always been with new ideas. So, too, it is with pacifism, pointed out Miss A. Ruth Fry in an address given at Christ Church, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

"It is entirely natural," she continued, "that the antagonism to pacifism is widespread because of its attempt to take away the horrible old way of war and substitute freedom and safety. Once more the cry is 'Quite impossible.'"

"People do not realize that our civilization is at present founded on two absolutely contradictory theses, a love of peace and a belief in violence."

"Pacifism proposes to abolish one of these so-called supports, and instead of seeing that no civilization could be upheld by the opposites of peace and violence, that it must flounder and break if the attempt be made, many cling to Barabbas, and refuse to accept the freedom Christ offers."

The substance of the address has now been printed as a pamphlet under the title *Quite Impossible*, and is obtainable, price 1d., from Miss A. Ruth Fry, Thorpeness, Suffolk.

Things You Will Want to Know

THE 1938 edition of the Peace Year Book—the recognized book of reference for the peace movement and the problems with which it has to deal—is now ready.

More than ever it is a mine of information which no peace-worker can afford to be without. The contents are divided into four sections: international affairs; the peace movement at home; the peace movement abroad; and appendices.

Under the final section is gathered a very useful miscellany of facts and figures, official documents, and so on. Under the first three headings appear contributions from such well-known people as Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Karlin Capper-Johnson, Mr. Maurice Fanshawe, Mr. Donald Tyerman, and Dr. J. D. Bernal.

PRACTICAL ADVICE

A new and important section of the book deals in detail with problems of local peace organization, giving practical advice on propaganda methods. A corresponding section in the appendices provides what must be the most comprehensive catalogue in existence of peace films, plays, and exhibitions.

The directories of peace organizations throughout the world, which are a unique feature of the book, appear again, but in a more convenient form. Copies of the book are obtainable at 2s. 4d., post free, from the National Peace Council, 39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

World Congress of Faiths

A weekend congress organized by the World Congress of Faiths (Continuation Movement) will be held at Cambridge from June 24 to 28, with residence for men at St. John's College and for women at Newnham College. Distinguished speakers from the various religions will deliver addresses to be followed by discussion. Among those already arranged are Professor Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Canon C. E. Raven, Baron Palmstierna, and Canon Harold Anson.

Details are obtainable from the Secretary, World Congress of Faiths, 33, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

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